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FURTHER REACTION TO GORBACHEV'S INF PROPOSAL

Reagan Statement Cited

LD032205 Moscow TASS in English 2204 GMT 3 Mar 87

[Text] Washington March 4 TASS -- President Reagan appeared on national television on Tuesday with a special statement on questions of arms control.

He said he welcomed the proposal made by the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Mihail Gorbachev to reach agreement on medium-range missile in Europe separately from other agreements. "To seize this new opportunity I have instructed our negotiators to begin presentation of our draft INF treaty text at Geneva tomorrow," the President said.

The President said that the U.S. negotiators were being urgently summoned to Washington already this week for consultations.

Vremya on U.S. 'Madmen'

LD031738 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1530 GMT 3 Mar 87

[From the "Vremya" newscast; U.S. correspondent Vladimir Dunayev report]

[Text] The reaction of White House representatives this time was both quick and positive. The same can be said of the legislators, too. The overwhelming majority of congressmen and senators who have spoken over the past few days have welcomed the statement by Comrade Gorbachev.

Here is the disturbing thing: The Pentagon at this precise moment has announced unexpectedly it is preparing to conduct a training alert on the U.S. Pacific coast. This is, after all, also a reaction to Comrade Gorbachev's statement, an original Pentagon reaction.

Within the adminstration itself there continues unabated a conflict between responsible politicians and irresponsible ones who have now led the administration, and indeed the country, into a quagmire of scandal in general.

There is a change of personnel under way in the White House. A group of people, very militantly inclined, have left the White House for various reasons, and have been replaced by more moderate, so to speak, politicians. Still, there remain sufficient madmen here and, to judge from the first comments from many retired generals, it can already be estimated, what arguments will be cited against an accord on medium-range missiles.

First, the Reagan administration is weakened by scandal, so we must not talk to the Russians now, it is dangerous now. If an accord was reached in Reykjavik on these missiles -- well, the President was strong at that time, but now he is weak, and, so to speak, it is better to wait and force through preparations for Star Wars.

Second, the second sort of argument goes: Are all the West European countries ready to rid themselves of U.S. missiles? Let's ask them. There are signs that pressure will be brought so that if even one country states that it is not ready for this it will be possible for that reason to withdraw, to retreat, to break the existing accord.

It must be said that these forces, the militant forces of America, so to speak, the military opposition, if you like, is not so much scared by this accord on Euromissiles, but most of all it fears that this accord will become the beginning of a change in the climate, and will open the way for other accords. This is very dangerous, and for this reason this entire military-industrial horde is gathering to provide a repulse.

Precisely for this reason those responsible U.S. politicians who know what it is to conduct policy in a nuclear age have welcomed the statement by Comrade Gorbachev, noting especially its timeliness, and so to speak its surprising [as heard] importance at precisely this time, a time when much is being determined in world politics.

'Graphic' New Thinking

PM041055 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 4 Mar 87 First Edition p 3

[Article by Captain First Rank V. Kuzar under the "Observer's Opinion" rubric: "Decision of Fundamental Importance"]

[Text] "Breathtaking proposal..." Favorable prerequisites..." Very important peace challenge to the West..." That is the progressive public's reaction to the statement by M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, setting forth the new Soviet initiative. To judge by the responses from the mass media, it has left no one in the world indifferent. That is no accident.

The Soviet Union's decision of fundamental importance consists in highlighting the problem of eliminating medium-range missiles in Europe from the package of questions which are being examined at the Geneva talks and immediately concluding a separate agreement on this problem. What should I like to note in this regard? First of all that already there is virtually an agreement for this step. At the Soviet-U.S. meeting in Reykjavik the sides agreed the USSR and the United States would completely eliminate all their medium-range missiles in Europe and drastically reduce these missiles -- to 100 warheads -- in the Asian part of our country and to the same number on the United States' national territory.

As soon as an agreement is signed on the elimination of Soviet and U.S. medium-range missiles in Europe, the USSR will withdraw its enhanced-range operational-tactical missiles from the GDR and the CSSR by agreement with these countries' governments. Our country is also prepared to embark immediately on talks on operational-tactical missiles with a view to reducing and totally eliminating them.

The Soviet Union has thus taken a major new step on the historic path begun by the Soviet-U.S. talks in the Icelandic capital. For all people of good will Reykjavik has become a moment of truth, a breakthrough to a world free of nuclear weapons. That is what would happen if the U.S. leadership had not stopped, had not gone into reverse. Reykjavik continues to live and to win the minds of ever new people. It is in vain that the enemies of nuclear disarmament are making efforts to try to prove these were ordinary talks which ended in failure.

The USSR's new initiative is graphic evidence of the Soviet leadership's new political thinking -- Thinking which gives a clear and precise answer to the burning questions of the present day and the only correct decision in line with the urgent requirement of the time. The Soviet proposals are dictated by the interests of the security of our country and of our allies and by the desire to free our common European home of cumbersome nuclear arsenals.

In putting forward the new initiative the Soviet leadership also considered the fact that the West has frequently stressed its readiness, if the Soviet Union removes the medium-range missiles question from the Reykjavik package, to immediately conclude a corresponding agreement. This opportunity has now been offered. Our country is waiting for the people across the ocean to take advantage of this change and to prove their words do not deviate from their deeds.

It should be noted that Washington's first reaction, albeit restrained, was as a whole positive. Pell, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, spoke of the broad opportunities opening up for talks. Senators (Stiven) and Lugar spoke from optimistic positions. Representatives of the ruling circles of a number of West European countries also expressed their attitude toward the Soviet proposal. In particular the capitals of the FRG, Belgium, and Denmark assessed it as an important step forward. The British newspaper THE GUARDIAN stressed that the Soviet Union's proposal "opens the way for the biggest breakthrough in arms control since the heyday of detente in the early seventies."

Those who are reluctant to renounce the gamble on military superiority and the illusory calculations of reversing the course of history, those who see Europe fenced in by nuclear missiles, have also shown themselves. It is obviously with their permission that items have appeared in the press expressing fears that the U.S. missiles may be removed from Europe. After all the Europeans would then allegedly be defenseless in the face of "Soviet superiority in conventional armaments." Other fabrications are also being disseminated.

Well, this is not the first time something of the kind has been observed, especially when there is nothing of substance to object or respond to. It is also opportune to think of time. It does not wait. Every new day brings evidence of the actions of the nuclear militarists seeking to turn space into a "Star Wars" arena and thus place mankind on the brink of catastrophe.

The specific Soviet proposal for the elimination of medium-range missiles in Europe was put on the Geneva conference table 2 March. There is a unique opportunity to ensure that Europe ceases to be seen as a potential theater of nuclear war. A situation has been created in which it is possible to embark immediately on the reduction and then the total elimination of nuclear weapons on the planet.

## Test of U.S. Sincerity

PM031341 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 3 Mar 87 Morning Edition p 1

[Editorial: "Historic Chance"]

[Text] Moscow again. Another constructive use of new political thinking intended to raise civilization to a qualitatively higher level. [paragraph continues]

All mankind -- on every meridian and parallel, especially in Europe, from the Atlantic to the Urals -- is discussing and commenting on the statement by M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, published on the last day of winter, 28 February. It says that, after examining the complex of issues relating to implementation of the program for a nuclear-free world, the CPSU Central Committee Politburo has decided to take another major step in this direction.

What is the essence of this major step? The aim is to develop the greatness of Reykjavik and translate it into practical action, and also to minimize its tragedy; it is also to prove once again, in practice, that Reykjavik was not a failure but a breakthrough, that it was not just exploratory [prokhodnoy] talks but a moment of truth when great prospects opened up for embarking on the road to a nuclear-free world. Now for the specifics:

The Soviet Union proposes singling out the problem of medium-range missiles in Europe from the complex of issues and concluding a separate agreement on it, and doing so without delay. Not only the basis for this step exists but, to all intents and purposes, a ready-made accord. It was agreed in Reykjavik that the USSR and the United States would eliminate all their medium-range missiles in Europe over the next 5 years. Over the same period the number of Soviet missiles of this class would be reduced to 100 warheads in the Asian part of our territory, on the understanding that the United States could keep the same number of medium-range missile warheads on its own national territory.

As soon as an agreement is signed on eliminating Soviet and U.S. medium-range missiles in Europe, the USSR will withdraw from the GDR and the CSSR, by agreement with the governments of these countries, the enhanced-range operational-tactical missiles deployed there as a countermeasure to the deployment of Pershing-2s and cruise missiles in Western Europe. With regard to other operational-tactical missiles, we are prepared to immediately begin talks aimed at reducing and totally eliminating these missiles.

These are the proposals the Soviet Union is putting on the negotiating table at the talks with the United States in Geneva. The importance of these proposals is obviously tremendous. They open up a real opportunity to free our common European home from a considerable part of its nuclear burden. This would be a real, major step toward completely freeing Europe from nuclear weapons. The European peoples are particularly close to one another because of the colossal ordeals that have fallen on them. It is enough to recall the two world wars which came to a head and raged mainly on the European Continent. That is why today the broad European public sincerely welcomes the new Soviet initiative -- the fruit of new political thinking. One of the characteristic and, what is more, fundamental features of this thinking is the ability to listen to the public's voice, to understand the concerns and interests of other peoples, and not to isolate one's own security from the security of one's neighbors in our interdependent world. Moscow has listened very carefully and acted in accordance with people's innermost aspirations and the urgent demands of the time.

Reykjavik showed that nuclear disarmament is a totally realistic policy. In Reykjavik the participants in the Soviet-U.S. summit meeting were literally just a step away from an accord on a whole range of decisions which, in total, would have signified a profound breakthrough in the front of nuclear danger. This did not happen, and everyone knows who is to blame for this. The complex of proposals encompassing strategic offensive weapons, medium-range missiles, space weapons, and nuclear tests is being sabotaged by Washington. People on the Potomac do not wish to give up their gamble on military-technological superiority or their illusory hopes of dashing ahead -- via space, if not on earth. Instead of deep reflection, they are resorting to the "broad interpretation" of existing accords which contain the nuclear arms race to a certain extent.

This is the strategy of those who have backed away from Reykjavik. Their tactics amount to artless attempts to lay the blame at another's door. In particular, they cite the fact the Soviet Union insists on resolving the complex of problems discussed in the Icelandic capital as a package. So if the Soviet Union were to single out the question of medium-range missiles from the Reykjavik package, reaching an agreement on eliminating these missles in Europe would present no particular difficulty, those across the ocean claim and even assure people. Fine. The statement by the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee makes provision for precisely this. So Washington has now been given a good opportunity to prove in practice its good will, the seriousness of its intentions, and its sincerity.

It goes without saying that while singling out the problem of medium-range missiles in Europe, the Soviet Union still considers it very important to reach an agreement on substantially limiting and then eliminating strategic weapons. Naturally, the conclusion of such an agreement, and this has been repeatedly stressed by the Soviet leadership, must be made conditional upon a decision on preventing the deployment of weapons in space, because these issues are organically interconnected.

The nature of the times in which we live is truly critical. The contradiction between war and peace and between the existence and extinction of civilization dominates all human affairs, especially in international politics. The new thinking, common sense, and, finally, the survival instinct reflect the determination of the human race to resolve this contradiction in time and to the benefit of peace. The international forum "For a Nuclear-free World, for the Survival of Humanity" held recently in Moscow once again demonstrated this determination and, at the same time, the expectations, concerns, and intense striving of eminent representatives of science, culture, politics, and religion in connection with this great contradiction of the nuclear age.

The Soviet Union's new initiative is in many respects a response to these expectations, concerns, and strivings. The Soviet Union has once again demonstrated its will and determination -- despite all the difficulties and artificial obstructions -- to resolve the problem of nuclear disarmament. The world has once again seen for itself how the problems of our country set itself in its domestic policy and the problems which must be resolved in the international arena merge into one indissoluble whole. The tasks of accelerating and restructuring socialist society, preventing a nuclear catastrophe, demilitarizing the world, and humanizing international relations form the linchpin of our party's strategic course. That is why the words "restructuring" and "openness" are now regarded abroad as synonyms for the words "progress" and "peace."

The new initiative, which is oriented toward completely freeing Europe from nuclear weapons, offers another historic chance to the peoples of this continent that has suffered much and to all mankind to curb the nuclear apocalypse and take an important step toward a world free from wars and weapons. This chance cannot, must not be missed!

## Nazarkin on Initiative

LD031342 Moscow TASS in English 1314 GMT 3 Mar 87

[Text] Geneva March 3 TASS -- The text of the statement made by Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, with the Soviet Union's proposal for detaching the problem of medium-range missiles in Europe from the other arms control and disarmament issues and concluding a separate agreement on it has been released at the disarmament conference as an official document today.

Addressing a plenary meeting, the leader of the Soviet delegation, Yuriy Nazarkin, said that that new initiative constituted another major step towards the fulfilment of a program for a nuclear-free world.

Criticising the concept of nuclear deterrence, which is being upheld by some Western countries, the Soviet delegate noted that it led to the escalation and improvement of nuclear weapons, which meant the further arms race. To reconcile oneself with this would mean voluntarily to doom humanity as a whole to imminent peril. The fulfilment of the SDI program is fraught with even greater dangers: Whatever "defensive" labels are pinned on it, it is intended to tip the balance of forces in favour of the U.S.

A new building of international security can be erected and cemented only on trust, Yuriy Nazarkin said in conclusion. But it would be wrong to phrase the problem as follows: trust before everything else, including disarmament. The Soviet Union advocates a different road: to trust through joint actions, and its latest IMF [as received] proposal is proof positive of this approach.

The latest Soviet initiative was hailed by the leader of the GDR delegation, Harald Rose, who stressed that it was paving the way to the creation of a nuclear-free Europe, reductions in the nuclear arms arsenals and eventually a nuclear weapon-free world.

The positive character of the Soviet proposal was also noted by U.S. delegate Linn Hansen. He said that the United States also wanted real progress and planned shortly to submit to the Soviet side the terms of a treaty on medium-range missiles.

NATO-WARSAW PACT OFFICIALS MEET IN VIENNA

LD021531 Moscow TASS in English 1528 GMT 2 Mar 87

[Text] Vienna March 2 TASS — Representatives of Warsaw-Treaty and NATO countries had a working meeting at the Embassy of Hungary here today within the framework of unofficial consultations on matters concerning cutbacks in the armed forces and conventional arms in Europe.

The socialist countries were represented by the leaders and members of delegations at the Vienna follow-up meeting of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE).

CHERVOV ON WEST'S 'FEVERISH' ARMS BUILDUP

AU031037 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 27 Feb 87 p 6

[USSR Colonel General Nikolay Chervov interviewed by NOVOSTI military commentator Vladimir Morozov: "The Soviet Program of the Elimination of Nuclear Weapons; Unity Between Words and Deeds" -- place and date not given; initial paragraph is paper's introduction]

[Text] In accordance with the program for ridding the world of nuclear weapons, proclaimed on 15 January 1986, the USSR proposes bold and at the same time concretely realistic approaches to limiting all aspects of the feverish arms buildup: whether by eliminating nuclear arsenals, not permitting the development of space weapons, banning chemical weapons in Europe. [paragraph continues]

NOVOSTI military commentator Vladimir Morozov spoke about this with Colonel General Nikolay Chervov, chief of the administration of the General Staff of the USSR Armed Forces.

[Morozov] Western propaganda continues spreading doubts about the feasibility of the realization of the Soviet program for the elimination [likvidacia] of nuclear weapons by the year 2000. What can be said in this regard?

[Chervov] As it is known, the U.S. and NATO representatives very much like to flirt in words with the problem of a total elimination of nuclear weapons. Well, when it came to the practical aspect of that issue, they went into "reverse gear" and openly proclaimed that they do not wish to eliminate nuclear weapons, and that they cannot even imagine a world without nuclear weapons. Just as before, they defend the NATO concept aimed at "intimidation," the essence of which is the conviction that the more weapons there are, the greater, allegedly, the security is. From this also arises their activity -- arming, arming, and more arming.

Against this U.S. and NATO concept, the USSR counterposes the program for the total elimination of nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction by the year 2000. Our program is not an appeal, not merely words, but practical deeds. I will give examples.

In Reykjavik, the Soviet side -- thanks to the vigor and the flexibility with which the talks were conducted -- almost brought the U.S. side to an historic decision. After all, President R. Reagan agreed with the elimination of the two sides' nuclear potentials. "I would like to ask," R. Reagan said to Mikhail Gorbachev, "whether we keep in mind, and I am convinced that it would be a good thing, the elimination by the end of two 5-year periods, of all nuclear explosion installations [zariadenia], including bombs, battlefield devices, cruise missiles, submarines' weapons, intermediate range missiles, and so forth? If we agree that by the end of a 10-year period all nuclear weapons will be eliminated, we can present this agreement to our delegations in Geneva to prepare an agreement which you will be able to sign during your visit in the United States." Is this not true?

The Soviet moratorium on all nuclear explosions lasted 1 and 1/2 years. Had the United States joined in the moratorium, it would have been a huge step on the road toward the elimination of nuclear weapons.

Or, let us have a look at the USSR's pledge not to be the first to use the nuclear weapon. From the military viewpoint, it was not easy to take such a step, but we have taken the step. Had the United States pledged not to be the first to use the nuclear weapon, the situation would be much better now.

Also our other measures follow the same course: We have dismantled all intermediate range missiles at the Kola Peninsula, we have withdrawn from battle alert a part of the SS-20 missiles in Europe, and since 1983 we have frozen the SS-20 missiles in the European part of the USSR. The Soviet Union has been observing the moratorium on antisatellite tests for 3 years now.

All these unilateral practical deeds are the integral part of the Soviet program. If the United States and NATO would respond with the same deeds, people would breathe more easily and the situation in the world would markedly improve.

Our program is realistic also because it is concrete: Stages have been determined, and also the time and the volume of reduction. Verification of all kinds is envisaged -- international and national, including on-site inspections.

Soviet representatives understand the complexity of resolving the problem of the total elimination of nuclear weapons. They also understand very well the situation in the world is -- as the result of the feverish arms buildup -- increasingly more complicated and more dangerous. When necessary measures are not adopted, this threat will get ever bigger and the arms buildup could get out of control. The nuclear threat can be eliminated in one way only -- one has to eliminate the nuclear weapons and at the same time totally ban offensive space weapons.

[Morozov] What could the technology for the elimination of nuclear weapons be? [as published] Can they be used for peaceful purposes?

[Chervov] The technology for the elimination of nuclear devices [strely] has been planned for in the Soviet program. The proclamation by Mikhail Gorbachev states that special procedures for the elimination of nuclear weapons will be worked out, including the elimination of nuclear devices, as well as dismantling, conversion or destruction of carriers. In the case of nuclear devices, these procedures would concern their nuclear as well as nonnuclear components.

In all states of the elimination of nuclear weapons, the volumes of destroyed weapons must be coordinated, as well as the locations where these weapons will be destroyed. The verification of the destruction or the conversion of weapons would be carried out by national technical means as well as by an on-site inspection. The details of the technology for the destruction of nuclear weapons would be worked out at talks between the increased parties.

In this connection one cannot exclude handing a certain part of the nuclear materials come free to the peace branches of the economy (after appropriate processing, of course).

[Morozov] How does the Soviet Union's decision to rescind the unilateral moratorium on all nuclear explosions harmonize with its program for the total elimination of nuclear weapons by the year 2000?

[Chervov] The program for the elimination of nuclear weapons by stages remains fully valid. On this program rests the Soviet package of balanced, extensive measures aimed at the elimination of strategic offensive weapons and intermediate range missiles in Europe, at consolidating the regimen of the agreement on antimissile defense and halting nuclear tests, submitted in Reykjavik.

Our political and military choice is to do everything in our power to halt the feverish arms buildup and enter the 21st century without nuclear weapons.

The USSR has underpinned this choice by the unilateral moratorium on all nuclear explosions. For a year and a half the Soviet Union has not taken part in the feverish arms buildup, which is being foisted upon the world by the United States. The United States, which in that period carried out 26 explosions, has actually overtaken itself.

Should the United States halt its nuclear explosions, the Soviet moratorium could continue to be in effect. The feverish arms buildup would be halted, and a huge step would be taken toward nuclear disarmament. The USSR does not want to relent in its endeavor or in the issue of fully halting nuclear weapons by the end of this century.

[Morozov] How would you comment on the daily assurances of the U.S. Administration about its alleged dedication to "restraint" in feverish arms buildup?

[Chervov] The statements, for example, by C. Weinberger and other representatives of the U.S. Administration are very hypocritical when they begin talking about peace and asserting that the United States maintains some sort of "restraint" in the issue of increasing its military potential. Such assertions are at variance with reality. I will present the facts.

In 1986 alone, the number of members of the U.S. Armed Forces (regular troops and reserves) increased by 58,000 persons. More than half the divisions' weaponry was upgraded [prezbojene] and received new Abrams tanks; weapons and equipment were stockpiled on the FRG territory for 2 more divisions (altogether, the material stockpiled there is for 6 divisions).

A total of 10 MX intercontinental ballistic missiles were incorporated in the system of strategic offensive weapons. Today these are the most destabilizing first strike missiles, the strength of each of its warheads equaling the strength of all the devices [strely] which were exploded during World War II. Incorporated in the equipment also was 1 Ohio class submarine with Trident-1 missiles aboard; 23 heavy B1-B Bombers; 30 heavy B-52 bombers were converted into long-range cruise missiles carriers; an additional 112 intermediate range missiles were deployed in Europe (altogether there are 364 intermediate range missiles, of which 108 are the Pershing-2 missiles, presently deployed in Europe).

The naval forces received a new nuclear aircraft carrier, two cruisers, and other vessels; and another battleship was converted into a cruise missiles' carrier and put into operation.

Also in 1986, the United States "buried" ["urobili kriz" nad dohodou] the SALT II treaty and is working on the SDI program, by which it violates the agreement on antimissiles defense; the military budget for the next fiscal year has reached an astronomical sum of $312 billion. This constitutes almost $1 billion a day.

No, these facts which I have enumerated have nothing at all in common with "restraint." What is involved is kindling a dangerous and feverish arms buildup, Washington's attempt to achieve military superiority.

ARBATOV ON 'INERTIA OF TRADITIONAL THINKING'

PM261509 London MORNING STAR in English 26 Feb 87 p 4

[Georgiy Arbatov article: "Dialogue Vital to Break Nuclear Mould"; first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] The recent International Forum for a nuclear-free world held in Moscow demonstrated the possibility of East-West dialogue at a broad public level. Soviet analyst Georgiy Arbatov argues that such efforts must be intensified to break the traditional mode of thinking on disarmament.

The international Forum for a Nuclear-Free World and the Survival of Humanity has finished its work in Moscow.

Over a thousand people from all over the world took part in the debates.

The situation in the world is such that it is much more important to hear one's partner rather than oneself.

Naturally enough, in sponsoring this forum, Soviet scientists, politicians and military experts did not expect the participants would meet to discuss Soviet foreign policy.

Its task was to continue East-West dialogue at a broad public level.

One can dispute what is better -- a balance of fear or a policy aimed at building a non-nuclear world.

But it is impossible to find points of contacts without dialogue, and all those who came to the forum realised this fully.

The Soviet participants were interested in explaining to their Western colleagues the gist and details of the recent Soviet proposals on security and disarmament.

The forum had the express purpose of stepping up efforts to end the arms race and to take forward the positive potential that the Reykjavik meeting had shown the Soviet Union and the U.S. to have.

Quite often contradictory views were expressed but -- more important -- all participants had a common interest to move from rhetoric and declarations to practical deeds.

Nuclear disarmament is essential. But to find ways of reaching this goal, we have to know each other's positions.

A whole number of obstacles have to be removed in order to establish more constructive East-West relations.

In solving this problem, West Europeans could have an important say.

For the time being, they are hostages to the U.S. and are concerned primarily with the interests of their more powerful ally rather than their own.

But today, security can only be achieved politically, through dialogue based on the political will to lower the level of military confrontation.

A non-nuclear world is both real and necessary. There is no alternative to such a world. The point is how to achieve it.

I cannot blame those who question the possibility of a total ban on nuclear weapons. Such a world may seem improbable, because so far we have not even reached an understanding that we must halt the nuclear arms race.

Arguments against the possibility of a non-nuclear world seem quite logical in the context of conventional thinking.

But the point is that the traditional mode of thinking must give way to new political thinking.

If we managed to break the negative tendencies and get disarmament off the ground, say, by achieving a 50 per cent cut in strategic armaments in the forthcoming five years; if we reach accords on a chemical weapons ban and radical reductions in conventional armaments, and if we secure a general thaw in the international climate, then a non-nuclear world will appear as more and more real with every passing year and will be ultimately achieved.

Slavery had once seemed a normal way of life, but it was wiped out.

To stamp out such an evil as nuclear weapons one ought to realise that nuclear weapons are evil.

The proponents of nuclear weapons say that, if these weapons are eliminated, there will be less fear and consequently more chances for a war involving conventional weapons.

I think however that nuclear weapons will be eliminated in the context of a single process aimed at demilitarisation of international relations.

This process will incorporate reductions and elimination of other weapons and be accompanied with growing confidence to preclude the use of force in international relations.

Stability will then be ensured on a new and higher level.

One begins to act only when one knows one ought. There is an objective necessity for action, but it is yet to be understood.

That is the point about the current struggle and that is the point of current Soviet efforts in this direction.

It means winning more supporters, concluding more agreements and involving mass movements in the campaign.

There are different road-blocks on the way to a non-nuclear world.

One obstacle is the vested interest of those who build their power or pin their political hopes on it, or gain economically from it.

Another obstacle is the inertia of traditional thinking which makes people think they will not be safe unless they are surrounded with a fence made of all kinds of weapons.

It is a big problem but we are campaigning against it.

FRG SHARES RESPONSIBILITY FOR RECENT U.S. N-TEST

LD271951 Moscow TASS in English 1937 GMT 27 Feb 87

[Text] Moscow February 27 TASS -- By TASS military writer Vladimir Chernyshev:

The FRG Government which has not exerted the influence on its partner, the USA, shares the responsibility for the situation which has developed now.

This conclusion has been drawn by deputy chairman of the SDPG [Social Democratic Party of Germany] parliamentary group in the Bundestag Horst Ehmke who comments on the explosion of a nuclear device conducted by the USSR after the quiet has been reigning on Soviet proving grounds for over 18 months.

One can fully agree to this conclusion. It is certainly above all Washington's irresponsible policy that has led to the fact that the historic chance to end nuclear testing for ever has been lost at this stage. But those NATO countries which constantly follow in the wake of the United States policy, which echo the U.S. Administration, are undoubtedly, accomplices in dangerous actions. Whether the nuclear arms, chemical weapons, or new types of conventional armaments are concerned, the present FRG Government exerts efforts to speed up the arms race.

None other than Chancellor Helmut Kohl, for instance, described the "Star Wars" program aimed at the creation of space strike arms and the militarization of outer space as "morally and politically justified." And it is precisely this program that has become the main stumbling block in Reykjavik on the road to reaching arrangements on the reduction, and in the long run, complete elimination of nuclear arms. It must certainly be clear in Bonn that ever new nuclear explosions are needed for this program of Washington.

Trying to link the zero option in medium-range missiles with the Soviet Union's alleged superiority in the sphere of conventional arms, and seeking rearming in the sphere of short range missiles, the FRG Government puts obstacles to ridding Europe of nuclear missile weapons. STERN magazine reported that the federal chancellor's associates "heaved a sigh of relief" that "the Reykjavik meeting broke off at the proper moment."

And take the recent fact: It became known in February that Bonn is deploying on the quiet in the West German territory ever new kinds of nuclear ammunition for artillery units. It would seem that with the density of the deployment of nuclear weapons in the West Germany being the highest in the world, the Bonn leadership should have shown special interest in ending nuclear testing and upgrading of nuclear weapons.

Nevertheless representatives of the West German leadership constantly declare about the need to continue "nuclear deterrence", that is the United States and NATO's emphasis on nuclear weapons, are inundating the country with the latest armaments. [sentence as received]

It is high time they in Bonn and other NATO capitals realize that those who support Washington's stand in favour of continued nuclear testing promote the buildup of nuclear arsenals and upgrading of nuclear weapons. The will of peoples who demand that a joint advance to a nuclear-free world should at last be started is thus ignored.

## Matveyev Comments on Test

PM021630 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 28 Feb 87 Morning Edition p 4

[Vikentiy Matveyev "Our Commentary" column: "Overcome the Obstacle!"]

[Text] There are no "good" or "bad" nuclear weapons -- all types of these armaments create an unparalleled threat to mankind, and therefore should be banned and eliminated. [paragraph continues]

That is the conviction of the Soviet leadership and our people, given practical expression in the 15 January 1986 Statement by M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, which sets forth a plan of action in the direction of nuclear disarmament.

Nor are there "good" or "bad" nuclear explosions. They should all be stopped forever, in the name of our planet's self-preservation. Our country set an example. For 18 months, in the face of more and more new nuclear tests in the United States, we refrained from conducting such explosions.

The underground nuclear explosion carried out 26 February in the Semipalatinsk region with a view to verifying the results of research in the sphere of the physics of such explosions does not mean our country is embarking on the path which Washington, ignoring the voice of the world public and the majority of governments, follows.

Moscow has once again declared most authoritatively what we have done and will continue to do everything necessary to reliably ensure our security and that of our friends and allies. We will not take a single step over and above the needs and requirements of reasonable, adequate defense. We will not thoughtlessly and automatically repeat what imperialism seeks to impose on us in the arms race.

The above also applies entirely to the question of nuclear tests. We do not imitate and have no intention of imitating what the Pentagon does.

It may be recalled that in the fifties the Soviet Union also unilaterally renounced nuclear tests -- with no response from the United States or Britain, which continued such tests despite the demands of the world public. We were forced to resume tests. The struggle did not stop. Eventually, convinced of the futility of the course of achieving the desired military superiority over the Soviet Union, Washington and London concluded it was expedient to reach an agreement on stopping nuclear tests in the three environments. So the well known international treaty was signed in Moscow in August 1963.

It is hard to guess which way things will go now. It is clear that however much people across the ocean spur on the arms spiral, this will not give the initiators of that course what they want. Our country will not permit the established military parity to be broken, whatever Washington does. the futility of this course, the associated threat to life on earth -- all this has long been obvious to the world community and to many representatives of the ruling class in the United States itself. A small group of people who control Washington's policy have the bit between their teeth.

That is what the world public and all governments seeking a nuclear test ban should bear in mind. In recent days even the governments of the West European countries which are closest to Washington have appealed to it not to break the ABM Treaty, signed by the United States with our country. Their concern is understandable. But does not the problem of nuclear test ban deserve to be the subject of at least equal attention from the U.S. allies?

There can be no doubt that broad strata of the world public, like the majority of the governments of UN countries, will not lose heart, but will raise their voices for reason. The soviet Union will not hold things up. We were prepared to respond to any glimmer of common sense across the ocean, and we are still prepared to do so.

OREKHOV ON READINESS FOR RECIPROCAL TEST BAN

PM021429 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 27 Feb 87 Second Edition p 5

[Boris Orekhov "Commentator's Column": "We Hold the Door Open"]

[Text] There can be no doubt that the report of our underground nuclear test will elicit many comments and commentaries in the world. Of course, they will not be unequivocal, just as the approach of various circles and various people to the fact that for more than a year and a half -- for 17 [as published] and 1/2 months, of 569 days, to be still more exact -- the Soviet Union had scrupulously adhered to its moratorium on all nuclear explosions was not unequivocal.

Naturally, that could not continue ad infinitum without the U.S. side's joining in the good cause. Moscow repeatedly urged Washington to stop the explosions in Nevada, make the moratorium a joint one, and thereby take a practical step toward ending the arms race.

Displaying restraint and patience in the interests of a lofty goal, the Soviet Union extended its unilateral moratorium five times. All the peoples welcomed that. They rightly saw our country's peace-loving action as a real opportunity to not only effectively put the brakes on the arms race but also change the international atmosphere for the better on a moral and psychological plane.

At the very same time as gophers and jerboas were fearlessly running about Soviet nuclear test sites overgrown with steppe grasses, the land of Nevada was being distended by more and more new blisters from nuclear explosions. Even when the Soviet Union announced its forced decision to resume testing following the first U.S. nuclear explosion in 1987, Washington hastened to conduct two tests at once -- one after the other -- as though displaying its arrogant attitude to the will and aspirations of hundreds of millions of the planet's inhabitants.

Hardly any of the paid Western propagandists will recall that the United States detonated 26 nuclear devices during the time that silence reigned on our test sites. We must not forget this; we do not have the right to do so. There is no way out for our country than to do everything necessary to reliably ensure our own security and that of our friends and allies.

So, some people will ask: Does this mean the world is once again at an impasse? No, this is not so. We are holding and will continue to hold open all doors for any honest steps to limit and reduce arms, to ensure reliable verification [kontrol] of this process, and to strengthen international mutual security. We repeat once again: The ending of nuclear tests is the command of the times. If the United States stops nuclear tests, the USSR will be ready on any day of any month to halt the implementation of its own nuclear test program on a reciprocal basis.

MILITARY DATA SHOW 'APPROXIMATE EQUILIBRIUM'

PM021051 [Editorial report] Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 27 February 1987 First Edition carries on page 3 under the headline "The Truth Will Out" a 1,500-word article by own observer Manki Ponomarev in response to a reader's letter from Captain N. Biryukov asking about the source of the military threat in the world. [paragraph continues]

Ponomarev claims that "approximate equilibrium and military-strategic parity" exists between the USSR and the United States, and that "this is an objective reality which cannot be refuted by any fabrications." In support of his claim he publishes the following table -- entitled "Who is the Instigator of the Arms Race" -- taken from the fourth edition of the book "Whence the Threat to Peace" [Otkuda Iskhodit Ugroza Miru]

| | UNITED STATES | | | USSR | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| YEAR | QUANTITY | | | | | |
| | SSBN's | SLBM's | Charges | SSBN's | SLBM's | Charges |
| 1960 | 3 | 48 | 48 | None | None | None |
| 1967 | 41 | 656 | 1552 | 2 | 32 | 32 |
| 1970 | 41 | 656 | 2048 | 20 | 316 | 316 |
| 1975 | 41 | 656 | 4536 | 55 | 724 | 724 |
| 1981 | 40 | 648 | 5280 | 62 | 950 | 2000 |
| 1984 | 39 | 656 | 6000 approx | 62 | 940 | 2500 approx |
| 1986 | 38 | 672 | 7000 approx | 61 | 922 | 3000 approx |

KASHLEV NOTES 'GREAT IMPACT' ON CSCE

LD270035 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1900 GMT 26 Feb 87

[Text] In the Austrian capital a meeting has taken place between members of the Soviet delegation to the Vienna meeting of representatives of the CSCE participant states and representatives of the International Committee for European Security and Cooperation. Ambassador Kashlev, leader of the Soviet delegation, noted that a great impact has been made on the course of the Vienna forum both by the Soviet Union's foreign policy initiatives and by the broad process of democratization under way in the USSR.

Pointing out that the constructive businesslike proposals submitted during the Vienna meeting by the socialist countries, aimed at achieving practical accords on the most important problems of disarmament, security, confidence measures and cooperation in the economic and humanitarian spheres, Kashlev stated that the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries are willing to seek new forms of negotiations if these negotiations result in the solution of the problems under discussion. In this connection they have made contact with the NATO countries with the aim of holding an exchange of views concerning negotiations between the countries of the Warsaw Pact and NATO on reducing armed forces and conventional arms in Europe.

Tatarnikov Addresses CSCE

LD031240 Moscow TASS in English 1204 GMT 3 Mar 87

[Text] Vienna March 3 TASS -- Maj.-Gen. Viktor Tatarnikov, a member of the Soviet delegation to the Vienna follow-up meeting on security and cooperation in Europe, today addressed a plenary session.

He drew attention to the recent initiative advanced by Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, in his February 28 statement, an initiative that represented a major step towards ridding Europe of nuclear arms.

Agreements on the elimination of American and Soviet medium-range missiles in Europe within the next five years would undoubtedly stimulate constructive consideration of the reduction of the armed forces and armaments in Europe.

The Soviet representative expressed confidence that the Soviet proposal would have a positive effect on the work of the all-European forum in Vienna.

At the same time, he said, NATO countries had not as yet tabled a single specific proposal in Vienna concerning military aspects of strengthening security and disarmament in Europe. They were avoiding a substantive and businesslike discussion of these key issues.

The Soviet representative said that the issue of reducing the armed forces and conventional armaments in Europe should be viewed on the all-European basis with the participation of all 35 nations, including neutral and non-aligned. Agreements on these issues should be recorded in the final document of the Vienna meeting.

DOBRYNIN, U.S. DELEGATION DISCUSS 'CHANGES'

LD031925 Moscow TASS in English 1910 GMT 3 Mar 87

[Text] Moscow March 3 TASS -- Anatoliy Dobrynin, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, had a meeting with a delegation of American politicians, businessmen and public figures led by Senator David Pryor.

The members of the American delegation expressed satisfaction at the chance they received to see for themselves wide-scale changes taking place in the Soviet Union in the political, social, economic and public spheres.

They noted that lately the interest in the life of the Soviet Union has grown tremendously in the U.S. and that there was a growing awareness of the possibility for improving relations between the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. and for creating conditions for the development of trust and mutual understanding between the people in both countries.

In that context they set forth their considerations concerning the existing reserves for making headway along these lines and expressed the hope for the development of Soviet-American cooperation in many fields.

Issues central to Soviet-American relations were discussed from the position of constructive interest, primarily, the vital need of an active search for agreements on the substance of the problems raised in Reykjavik.

Special emphasis was made on the principled importance of the new peace initiative set forth by Mikhail Gorbachev in his recent statement -- to conclude without delay a Soviet-American agreement on the elimination of medium-range missiles in Europe. Broad sections of the American public link no small hopes with it. At that point the American side expressed good wishes to be conveyed to the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

The meeting passed in a business-like and well-wishing atmosphere.

DAILY ON U.S. LIFTING OF POLISH TRADE SANCTIONS

PM271445 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 22 Feb 87 p 3

[SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA International Observer M. Nepesov article: "Is Sanctions Fever Wearing Off?"]

[Text] Judging by the latest reports from Washington, certain changes have not bypassed the local corridors of power. Longstanding obstacles to normal trade and economic relations are being removed, and restrictions on the sales of specific goods to foreign countries which seem absurd from a commonsense viewpoint are being lifted. First U.S. Secretary of Commerce Malcolm Baldrige announced a relaxation of export controls, pointing out the need "to rectify the situation where we have gone too far." Then President R. Reagan announced that the remaining economic sanctions against Poland are being lifted.

Well, better late than never, as the saying goes. It took 6 whole years for people on the Potomac to grasp that brandishing the big stick of sanctions is by no means the most sensible way to behave in the world arena. When, with a great flourish, they announced the bans on deliveries of petroleum and gas industry equipment to the Soviet Union, they were hoping to "cut off a lifeline" and to inflict economic damage. What happened? In cowboy jargon, they shot themselves in the foot. The Soviet gas pipelines were built on time, just like many other projects.

However, as authoritative experts working under the aegis of the U.S. National Academy of Science recently testified, the sanctions have seriously damaged the United States itself. They meant the loss of up to 188,000 jobs and $9 billion annually. Big corporations such as General Electric and Caterpillar Tractor also suffered. Furthermore, the sanctions painfully rebounded against the U.S. allies. Washington, operating through the Coordinating Committee on Export Controls (Cocom), reduced literally to a state of shock Japanese and other industrialists hoping to market their output in the USSR and other socialist countries. In particular, NIHON KEIZAI HIMBUN writes, they wanted to sell silicon cutting equipment used in the production of semiconductors. However, because of the stance taken up by Cocom, the Soviet market has been taken over by their Swiss rivals.

"We went too far," the U.S. secretary of commerce was forced to admit, referring to the excessive restrictions on U.S. exports to other countries. According to him, many foreign companies which used to buy U.S. goods now prefer more reliable suppliers. It must be added here that numerous barriers were also created to foreign goods imports to the United States. Thus, an additional import duty has been imposed on Indian goods, and restrictions on imports of textiles from Thailand and other Asian countries have been introduced. This unrealistic course toward autarky has resulted in practice in a serious isolation of U.S. firms in the world market and has undermined the competitiveness of their goods.

The question arises: Why have U.S. businessmen let things come to this? This essence of the problem lies in the fact that it has frequently been the Pentagon rather than the Department of Commerce which has determined foreign economic relations in the United States. On the pretext of safeguarding national security the "brass hats" imposed bans on the exports of various goods not just to the Soviet Union and other socialist countries but also to West Europe and Japan. Even now Baldridge only had to announce the lifting of clearly obsolete bans for Assistant Secretary of Defense Richard Perle to clamor, on the very same day, for tougher export controls.

The journalists who witnessed this clash of diametrically opposed views turned for explanation to M. Fitzwater, the President's press secretary: Does the White House share the position of the Department of Commerce or that of the Pentagon on the question of export controls? He replied that "it is a matter of combining both stances." Yet it is hardly possible to sit on two chairs at the same time.

Now that the fever of sanctions which produced no dividends for anyone in the United States is wearing off, in Washington, and not just there, sober voices can increasingly often be heard calling for new approaches to international trade and economic cooperation. "Let us lift the remaining sanctions," THE NEW YORK TIMES writes.

For its part, the USSR invites any Western country to peaceful competition. "We will be able to prove in action what competition means -- to the benefit of universal progress and peace throughout the world," M.S. Gorbachev emphasized at his meeting with participants in the international forum "For a Nuclear-free World, for the Survival of Humanity." "Yet for this competition to take place and develop in civilized form worthy of mankind in the 21st century new thinking is necessary; it is necessary to overcome the ways of thinking, stereoptypes, and dogmas inherited from a past which has gone forever."

REAGAN NOMINATES FBI'S WEBSTER NEW CIA CHIEF

LD040813 Moscow TASS in English 0759 GMT 4 Mar 87

[Text] Washington March 4 TASS -- The White House has announced President Reagan's intention to appoint Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation William Webster to the vacant post of director of the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency.

The Reagan administration had difficulties in selecting a candidate for the post of director of the Central Intelligence Agency after its previous director William Casey resigned on health grounds at the heat of the "Iran-contras" scandal.

The White House tried to nominate for the post William Casey's deputy, Robert Gates, also involved in "Irangate", but its attempt was opposed by the Senate which legislatively endorses such appointments.

Former Senator Tower, former assistant to the President for National Security Affairs Brent Scowcroft, a number of other noted U.S. politicians, one by one, declined the proposal to take up the post.

Following a long search, the administration had to be content with the candidature of William Webster. The White House hopes that it will have no objections in the Senate and will be endorsed in no time.

The UPI writes that Webster is faced with the complicated task of "putting things in order" at the Central Intelligence Agency following the "Iran-contras" disclosure shock.

MOSCOW MANDARIN ON JAPAN'S 'TWO-CHINAS' POLICY

OW020204 Moscow in Mandarin to China 0200 GMT 1 Mar 87

[Mulatov commentary]

[Text] The U.S. Foreign Ministry [as heard] issued a protest note after a Japanese court ruled that a student dormitory in Kyoto belonged to Taiwan. The public is once again reminded of the fact that the United States and its allies have all along followed the "Two-Chinas" policy. The note, delivered to the Japanese ambassador to China, said the Japanese court's ruling is politically wrong and legally untenable.

Station observer Mulatov has written a short critical article on this event. He writes:

The Japanese court's ruling disregarded the fact that there is only one China and that the PRC has sovereignty over its island -- the province of Taiwan. This is not a simple matter of ruling against China. This is just one of the many events that accords with the American strategy of setting the Taiwan authorities against the PRC. Like the PRC -- so goes the logic of the United States, Japan, and other capitalist countries -- Taiwan also enjoys the legal right of possessing national property outside of Chinese territory. No wonder the Japanese court made the kind of ruling that was met by strong protests from China. Incidentally, we would like to refer to China's recent protest against Japan over the visit of a Japanese official to Taiwan. This Japanese official helped direct collusion between Tokyo and Taiwan by handing some DPRK citizens in Taiwan over to the Seoul authorities. The fact clearly shows that Japan violated its commitment to China by its continued politial contact with the Taiwan authorities.

HISTORIAN ON U.S. SHANGHAI COMMUNIQUE VIOLATION

OW030859 Moscow in Mandarin to China 0700 GMT 28 Feb 87

[(Ruben) commentary]

[Text] It has been 15 years since China and the United States signed the Shanghai Communique. In this joint communique, the United States, for the first time since the founding of the People's Republic of China, admitted that only one China existed, that Taiwan was a part of China, and that the PRC Government was the sole legitimate government of China. This meant the United States would be obliged to terminate the two-China policy, which it had pushed since the day the PRC was established. What have the events in the past 15 years proved? Soviet historian (Ruben's) commentary will elucidate this question.

He writes: The actual contents of Sino-U.S. relations and the actions of the United States on the international stage tell people that during all these years, the United States has been wantonly violating the agreement included in the Shanghai Communique. Take the Taiwan issue for example. While Washington admitted that Taiwan was part of China, it continued to keep China's Taiwan Province within its sphere of influence and under its military and political rule. On the surface, Washington severed diplomatic ties with Taipei; in essence, however, things did not change much. Their embassies had to be closed, but organizations, such as the American Institute in Taiwan and Taiwan's Coordinating Council on North American Affairs, actually started to perform the functions of an embassy.

In April 1979, only 4 months after the United States established diplomatic ties with China, the U.S. Congress approved Special Act No 2479 to readjust the special relations between the United States and Taiwan. According to this act, the United States would maintain full economic, trade, and cultural ties with the Taipei authorities. The trade volume between the United States and Taiwan has increased annually and obviously exceeds that between the United States and China. The U.S. Import-Export Bank and corporations with private investments abroad have continued to offer loans to Taiwan.

According to Special Act No 2479, the special U.S.-Taiwan relations also extend to the military sphere. The act even specifies that the United States is obliged to defend Taiwan. During all these years, the United States has actively strengthened the Taipei authorities' military potential. Neither China's protests nor the curtailing of the U.S. obligation to provide military supplies to the Taipei authorities has stopped a steady flow of U.S. weapons and modern arms to Taiwan. Rockets and tanks, naval vessels, including submarines, fighter aircraft, field and antitank guns -- all these have been handed over to the Taipei authorities by the United States. Supported by the United States, the Taipei authorities have carried out extensive military plans, produced the latest rockets, and fighter aircraft, with fine flight technology, and expanded military bases in Taiwan built during the U.S. occupation. What is their purpose? It is to defend the island against China's proposal to peacefully mediate the Taiwan issue.

There is evidence that the United States has pressured all countries into keeping relations with Taiwan and not establishing diplomatic ties with China. This was included in a statement by Montenegro, member of the Panamanian Legislative Council Delegation, at a news conference in Beijing not long ago. He also pointed out: Although the United States maintains diplomatic relations with China, certain members of the ruling Republican Party oppose other countries establishing diplomatic ties with China. All these facts prove that the United States still follows the ignoble two-China concept. Precisely because the United States actively supports the Taipei authorities, the two-China policy pushed by the United States spurs the anticommunist Taiwan authorities to reject political mediation on the Taiwan issue, that is, Taiwan's peaceful reunification with China. In essence, U.S. imperialism keeps Taiwan as one of its most important bases in the Pacific. The United States keeps Taiwan under its aegis, so that in the future it can still find a pretext to interfere in China's internal affairs.

## PRC AGREES TO DISCUSS AMUR RIVER DEVELOPMENT

OW260226 Tokyo KYODO in English 0214 GMT 26 Feb 87

[Text] Moscow, Feb. 25 KYODO -- China and the Soviet Union have agreed to start talks on mutual development of the Amur River, Chinese sources here said Wednesday.

The sources said the agreement came at Sino-Soviet border negotiations February 9-23 and that China will dispatch experts to Moscow, March 1, for discussion of the river development.

They said China and the Soviet Union will also begin working on the demarcation of the border at the lower reaches of the Ussuri River, probably in March or April.

Both the Amur and Ussuri Rivers are located on the border separating northeastern China from Soviet territory.

Communist Party leader Mikhail Gorbachev said in a speech in Vladivostok last summer that the Soviet Union was prepared to review the border line and urged China to carry out joint development of the Amur River for the utilization of its rich resources and water facilities for their mutual benefit.

Officials in the Soviet Far East reportedly want to construct dams at several points for power generation and irrigation. However, no concrete ideas have been made public.

## RENMIN RIBAO CONDEMNS 'TEAM SPIRIT' EXERCISE

PM271051 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 24 Feb 87 First Edition p 3

[TASS dispatch: "Provocative Games"]

[Text] Beijing, 23 Feb -- RENMIN RIBAO describes the joint U.S.-South Korean military maneuvers "Team Spirit-87" as provocative and as poisoning the international climate. These militarist games, in which around 200,000 people are taking part and large quantities of modern military hardware, including missile weapons, are being used, are the lengthiest military exercises ever held in the south of the Korean peninsula.

## HAYDEN WELCOMES SHEVARDNADZE TO AUSTRALIA 3 MAR

LD031512 Moscow TASS in English 1303 GMT 3 Mar 87

[Text] Canberra March 3 TASS -- Australian Foreign Minister William Hayden, addressing Eduard Shevardnadze, member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee and foreign minister of the USSR, at the airport in the Australian capital today, said that the visit was an extremely important event.

This visit, he said, should promote a dialogue between the two countries and the solution of questions of mutual interest in the sphere of bilateral relations.

The Australian minister said that his country acknowledged and respected the role of the Soviet Union as one of the two great powers and the immense role and responsibility this carried.

He expressed satisfaction with the report of the latest proposals advanced by Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, with regard to medium-range missiles.

Hayden said he discussed this issue with U.S. representative Edward Rowny only yesterday.

The Australian minister pointed out that Australia would back as far as possible productive discussions of these issues between the USSR and the United States.

He expressed the hope that they would be crowned with success and become a major step, the first out of many on the way towards effective arms control.

### Shevardnadze Meets With Hawke

LD031556 Moscow TASS in English 1533 GMT 3 Mar 87

[Text] Canberra March 3 TASS -- Eduard Shevardnadze, member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee, USSR foreign minister, who is currently on an official visit in Australia, has met today with Australia's Prime Minister Robert Hawke.

A detailed exchange of views was held on topical international and regional issues.

Eduard Shevardnadze briefed the Australian prime minister on the strategy outlined by the 27th Congress of the CPSU for accelerating the Soviet Union's socio-economic development, the policy of reorganization and renewal in all fields of the Soviet society's life.

It was stressed from the Soviet side that in the complex and controversial world today, where everything is dominated by the need for a choice between mankind's existence and non-existence, new approaches and methods of settling international disputes, new thinking corresponding with the realities of this nuclear-space age are necessary. [paragraph continues]

The Soviet foreign minister has drawn the Australian prime minister's attention to the Soviet-scale programme for the total elimination of nuclear and other types of mass destruction weapons by the end of this century, the major Soviet initiatives tabled at the Soviet-American meeting in Reykjavik, the proposal of the USSR and of the other socialist countries on the creation of a comprehensive international peace and security system, the history making Delhi Declaration on the principles for nuclear weapon-free and non-violent world.

The significance was pointed out of the proposal spelled out by Mikhial Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, on the problem of a cut in and elimination of medium-range nuclear weapons.

Eduard Shevardnadze and Robert Hawke declared for reaching as soon as possible specific positive results at the current bilateral and multilateral talks on the limitation and reduction of weapons, with an eye to putting an end to the weapons race on earth and preventing it in outer space, reducing the level of military confrontation.

Both sides have expressed the view that under the conditions of remaining tensions, responsible actions are necessary to contribute to building healthier international relations, strengthening universal peace and building up confidence and mutual understanding among nations.

The Soviet foreign minister has explained the programme put forward by the Soviet Union for ensuring peace and security, developing the relations of goodneighbourliness and mutually-beneficial cooperation in the Asian-Pacific region in the light of the provisions spelled out by Mikhail Gorbachev in his speech in Vladivostok and in his statements during the visit to India. The Soviet Union favours that that region should not be a source of tension, an arena of military-political confrontation, but should actively join in the process of forming a comprehensive international security system.

The prime minister said that the Soviet proposals had been received with interest, above all in the context of the efforts made to prevent military rivalries and ensure broad peaceful political and economic cooperation in the region.

On behalf of the Soviet leadership Eduard Shevardnadze invited the Australian prime minister to go on an official visit to the Soviet Union. The invitation was accepted with gratitude.

## Shevardnadze Talks With Hayden

LD031602 Moscow TASS in English 1545 GMT 3 Mar 87

[Text] Canberra March 3 TASS -- Talks between member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee, USSR Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze and Australia's Minister for Foreign Affairs William Hayden started here today. Some topical problems of the international situation were discussed.

The concensus was expressed about the need to improve the complex international situation, to take measures in the sphere of nuclear disarmament to create the conditions protecting civilisation against nuclear destruction.

During the talks an important place was assigned to problems of settling conflict situations in the world. Each of the sides set out its stance on questions of settlement around Afghanistan and Kampuchea.

The sides discussed the ways of establishing cooperation among countries situated in the Pacific basin.

## Hayden Hosts Luncheon

LD032151 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 3 Mar 87

[Text] Eduard Amvrosiyevich Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR minister of foreign affairs, started his official visit to Australia today. Our correspondent, Vladimir Beloshapko, reports from Canberra:

[Beloshapko] Comrade Shevardnadze and the officials accompanying him were met at the plane by William Hayden, Australian minister for foreign affairs; Samoteykin, USSR ambassador in Australia; Pocock, Australian ambassador in the USSR; members of Soviet establishments in Australia; and heads of diplomatic representations of socialist countries.

Eduard Amvrosiyevich Shevardnadze made a short statement at the airport in which he expressed his confidence that the meetings and conversations on Australian soil would create a better and more profound understanding between both countries and peoples, as the interests of peace and security are one and the same for all. Comrade Shevardnadze expressed his wish that all the residents of Canberra -- all the citizens of Australia -- would be prosperous, happy, and peaceful.

Talks started today between Comrade Shevardnadze and his Australian colleague, William Hayden. In honor of the Soviet guest, the Australian minister for foreign affairs gave a lunch at which William Hayden and Comrade Shevardnadze exchanged speeches. In his speech, the USSR minister of foreign affairs stressed that the Soviet Union desires to build a nonnuclear and nonviolent world, to ensure calm and stability in the Asian-Pacific Ocean region, and to strengthen cooperation between the USSR and Australia. In the evening, talks were held between Comrade Shevardnadze and Australian Prime Minister Hawke. The soviet-Australian talks will continue tomorrow.

The local press, radio, and television have given a great deal of attention to the arrival of the Soviet delegation. This visit has been called historic by the paper THE AUSTRALIAN. It is the first time that a high-ranking representative of the Soviet leadership has come to Australia, says the paper, and notes that Comrade Shevardnadze's visit is one of the practical steps in the realization of proposals contained in Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's speech in Vladivistock in July of last year, a speech that outlined the USSR's policy in the Asian-Pacific Ocean region.

## Second Talks 'Difficult,' 'Frank'

LD040943 Moscow World Service in English 0800 GMT 4 May 87

[Text] The Soviet foreign minister, Eduard Shevardnadze, now on a visit in Australia, has held another round of talks with his Australian counterpart, William Hayden.

According to officials in Canberra the talks were difficult but frank and honest. Shevardnadze confirmed the willingness of the Soviet Union to work for a world free from nuclear weapons and violence. He assured the Australian Government that the USSR had no plans threatening Pacific countries.

At a news conference in Canberra he expressed the readiness of the Soviet Union to reduce to 33 the number of its SS-20 missiles stationed in its Asian part. If agreement is reached with the United States on scrapping intermediate range missiles in Europe the Soviet Foreign Minister said, such missiles will not remain in Asia for long.

MELBOURNE REPORTS SHEVARDNADZE NEWS CONFERENCE

On Regional Policy, Missiles

BK040539 Melbourne Overseas Service in English 0500 GMT 4 Mar 87

[Text] The Soviet foreign minister, Mr Shevardnadze, says there will be no Soviet military presence in the South Pacific. Speaking at a news conference in Canberra at the end of his talks with the Australian Government, Mr Shevardnadze said Moscow was building its relations with the South Pacific countries.

Mr Shevardnadze said fishing agreements in the region would be based on mutual interests and would be consistent with international law. He said the nature of the Soviet presence would depend on what South Pacific countries wanted. However, Mr Shevardnadze emphasized there would be no Soviet military presence in the region.

Mr Shevardnadze said the Soviet Union faced a potential military threat in the Pacific and Indian Oceans. He said the threat was posed by the American military presence in Japan, South Korea, the Philippines, and Micronesia. The foreign minister said a threat was also posed by Japan, which he claimed had stepped over the threshold of responsible moderation in increasing its military forces.

Mr Shevardnadze said the Soviet Union was entitled to have an interest in stability in the Indian and Pacific Oceans, where it had important lines of communications. Moscow had to be concerned about Washington's basic regional policies and the buildup of the U.S. Navy.

Mr Shevardnadze said the cooperation of America was needed to deal with the problems of the Pacific. To remove mutual suspicion, the Soviet Union was prepared to limit the number of its SS-20 missiles in East Asia to 33. Mr Shevardnadze said if nuclear missiles were eliminated in Europe, they would not be required in Asia. He added that the South Pacific Nuclear-Free Treaty will also place constraint on Soviet activities.

On Expansion of Cooperation

BK040242 Melbourne Overseas Service in English 0230 GMT 4 Mar 87

[Text] The Soviet foreign minister, Mr Shevardnadze, today ruled out the possibility of a Soviet military presence in the South Pacific. Speaking at a press conference in Canberra at the end of his talks with the government, Mr Shevardnadze said Moscow was building relations with the South Pacific states. He said there was no reason for Australians to be suspicious about this. [passage omitted]

The Soviet foreign minister, speaking through an interpreter, said the nature of the Soviet presence would depend on what the Pacific states wanted. He said that if there were an expansion between Moscow and the Pacific nations in trade, economic cooperation, tourism, athletic exchanges, and other exchanges, that would obviously lead to a greater Soviet presence. However, Mr Shevardnadze stressed there would be no Soviet military presence.

On Indochina Plan

BK040701 Melbourne Overseas Service in English 0630 GMT 4 Mar 87

[Excerpts] The Soviet foreign minister, Mr Shevardnadze, has told the Australian Government that the Soviet Union faces a potential military threat in the Pacific and Indian Oceans. [passage omitted]

Mr Shevardnadze also told his news conference that there was a good basis for settlement of the Kampuchean conflict. He said Indochinese ministers had put forward a timetable for the withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from Kampuchea conditional on an end to external interference.

COMMENTARY APPLAUDS ASIAN SITUATION IMPROVEMENTS

OW270411 Moscow in Mandarin to China 1600 GMT 26 Feb 87

[Kudrin commentary]

[Text] At present, Asian newspapers attach special importance to and speak positively of the peace initiative advanced by the Soviet Union to normalize the situation in Asia. Kudrin, an observer of this station, has the following comments on the matter:

In fact, the Soviet Union has asked Asian countries to join it in seeking together a way to improve the security and develop cooperation in this vast land. It has suggested that joint efforts be made to explore the possibility of eliminating the sources of tension in some Asian regions; developing cooperation of mutual benefit in economy, trade, science and culture; and holding a regional conference to discuss various issues. It has been 7 months since the Soviet Union offered these proposals in Vladivostok. Soviet leader Gorbachev reiterated these proposals in his speech at the recent Moscow international conference for a nuclear-free world and human survival. Maybe 7 months is too short for us to sum up any results of these important proposals. In the meantime, imperialist countries have not made any changes in their policies towards the Asian-Pacific region. They are continuing to make a show of force and build up their arms.

Nevertheless, there is also some good progress. An initial sign of detente and trust in international relations has appeared in some regions. Some countries have expressed their willingness to make concessions and approach each other. Such a sign is very clear in the Afghanistan situation in the Middle East [as heard]. The national reconciliation policy pursued by the Afghan Government has been successful. Pakistan has shown great understanding of the efforts to promote political mediation within neighboring Afghanistan. There is also detente in South Asia in India-Pakistan ties. The two countries have agreed to withdraw their border troops, and the Pakistani president has visited India. Contacts between representatives of the two Southeast Asian blocks have become frequent. There has been a thaw in the Thai-Cambodian relations and Indonesia's foreign minister is going to visit Vietnam. The exchanges between the Soviet Union and China in various fields have also become very frequent.

Advocates for the establishment of nuclear-free zones have made great achievements. I think that recent positive progress in the Asian-Pacific region is the result of the proposals for peace in the region put forward by the Soviet Union. It is very clear that these proposals have had a good effect on improving the situation and on the political settlement of certain issues in Asia.

MOSCOW CAMBODIAN CRITICIZES CGDK'S PROPOSAL

BK220244 Moscow in Cambodian to Cambodia 1330 GMT 21 Feb 87

[Text] Recently, the so-called CGDK [Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea] published its proposal to resolve the Cambodian problem peacefully. Our political observer writes:

The first draft of this 8-point plan was made public in March last year. In Cambodia, as well as outside the country, people have opposed this plan. In particular, the JAKARTA POST pointed out that the essence of the 8-point proposal was in complete contrast to the true situation in Cambodia where the Heng Samrin government is in complete control. Maybe those who wrote this new draft should reexamine and alter this proposal in accordance with the true situation in Cambodia.

Examining the two drafts, we can see that there is only a slight change. The coalition government claims that there is no legitimate government elected by the people in Cambodia. It boasts that it is the sole representative of the Cambodian people. What is the difference between these two drafts? The only difference is that the Son Sann group would not be allowed to take part in restoring order in Cambodia. We would like to comment on this difference.

The Pol Pot group, which previously represented the main force in the coalition government, continues to play an important role. As Norodom Sihanouk has admitted, the coalition government is under the Pol Pot group. This further confirms the view of those who believe that the coalition government is only a cover for the Pol Pot group. For this clique, which massacred more than 3 million Cambodians, its objective remains the same. As for Sihanouk who, having a clear understanding of the situation within the coalition government, has further affirmed that the Pol Pot group has not changed its ideas, even if Pol Pot died. This group still receives outside political and military assistance. We consider this new 8-point proposal as an attempt to create conditions for the Pol Pot group to return to power. This is a futile attempt.

Those who sponsor this proposal also stick to another objective, which in their view cannot be achieved. They want to slander Vietnam and hinder the trend toward dialogue in Southeast Asia. In the view of Cambodia and other Indochinese countries, only a dialogue can normalize the situation in this region peacefully. Cambodia has made itself ready for talks with exiled Cambodian groups, except the Pol Pot clique. Cambodia and Vietnam have implemented an agreement on withdrawing in stages Vietnamese volunteer troops from Cambodia. Along with this, the Indochinese countries think that assistance to the Pol Pot group, which attacks Cambodia, should be stopped.

In many political observers' view, the Indochinese countries' proposals are correct. This is in complete contrast with the new plan of Cambodian reactionary groups which do not take into account the true situation in Cambodia.

MOSCOW CAMBODIAN ON U.S. MILITARY EXERCISES

BK251200 Moscow in Cambodian to Cambodia 1330 GMT 24 Feb 87

[Text] A U.S.-Thai war maneuver, involving many warships and aircraft and thousands of marines, was recently kicked off in the Gulf of Thailand. Our Commentator Comrade Vladimir Korolev writes:

The main objective of the exercise is to conduct a simulated troop landing operation on the Thai shore.

It has been reported that from Thai territory, the Thai and U.S. forces have conducted armed provocations against Cambodia. It is clear to all that the U.S.-Thai war game can only worsen the situation in the region. Washington attempts to drag Thailand into its adventurous military and political acts, as the U.S. now displays its desire to return to its bases located in this country. It was from these bases that, during the years of the U.S. war of aggression in Indochina, U.S. planes made bombing sorties against cities and villages in Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia. Why does the Pentagon want to recover these bases?

Armitage, assistant to the U.S. defense secretary, said that the United States needs to use bases in foreign countries to strengthen its strategic position. This Pentagon official shamelessly declared that the present frontier of the United States extends some more than 5,000 nautical miles west of San Francisco's Golden Gate. This remark has meaning only from his lips. [sentence as heard] Washington regards the vast Asia-Pacific region as a vitally important zone for the United States and it intends to protect this right through the use of force.

The muscle flexing in the Gulf of Thailand coincides with another major Pentagon exercise: the maneuver on the Korean peninsula, where 200,000 soldiers, the Air Force, and the 7th Fleet of the United States are taking part in the U.S.-South Korean war game codenamed "Team-Spirit 87." This exercise has fouled up the atmosphere and exuded a sense of threat to the stability of the region, said the people in cities in the countries concerned about the activities of the United States.

Refusing to endorse the [word indistinct] agreement, the U.S. Government declared that the turning of the South Pacific into a nuclear-free zone does not fit well with Washington's global policy. However, in practice, its increasingly active efforts to infiltrate the Asia-Pacific with nuclear weapons and [words indistinct] on states in this region. And the exercises in the Gulf of Thailand and near the Korean coast are part of this very U.S. policy.

MOSCOW BURMESE NOTES ANTI-INSURGENT OPERATIONS

BK271300 Moscow in Burmese to Burma 1430 GMT 26 Feb 87

[Station commentary: "Failure of The Insurgents' Plan"]

[Text] Reports from Burma speak of successful military operations by the Burmese Armed Forces against the antigovernment groups. They cite for instance the Burmese troops attack on the Klerdy Base of the Karen insurgents located north of (Migyaung) in Karen State toward the end of last week. The Karen insurgents were forced to flee to Thai territory. Reports received earlier from Rangoon mentioned that infantry Burma's Armed Forces attacked and captured insurgent bases in Namchet and Manpi in northern Shan State and Sarmadaban and Homwe bases in Kachin State.

The Burmese Army seized large amounts of arms and ammunition during the battles. Our station observer comments on these reports as follows:

Burmese and foreign press sources say the insurgents in Burma have been striving to form a united front for more effective and united antigovernment operations. However, events in recent months show that the insurgents' efforts to establish a political force to oppose and confront the current Burmese regime are bound to fail. The FAR EASTERN ECONOMIC REVIEW of Hong Kong brands such agreements as an attempt by divided elements to establish a front, while observers in Bangkok say that the joint efforts of the secessionists will not obtain any success.

There have been previous attempts by Burma's racist and secessionist elements for unity, but each attempt has failed. The history of relations among these elements is marked by mutual mistrust, suspicion, [words indistinct] bloody wars among themselves to obtain the most influential position over the black market.

The Burmese people are aware that the deeds and actions of the insurgents run counter to the genuine interests of the people. The people have openly declared at public rallies, held to denounce the secessionists, that their racist slogans have no ideological significance whatsoever and are mere propaganda. The insurgent groups are nothing but vice gangs who are pursuing their own interests and welfare.

The relationship between the insurgents and the hill people, whom they claim they are defending and protecting, is marked by looting and collection of taxes. The people living in areas under the insurgents' control have to pay various forms of tax for houses, draft animals, and utilities in order to avoid harm. Not only do the insurgents bring death and strife to the people's homes, but their smuggling of precious gems, timber, minerals, and antiques is harming the country's economy.

The activities of opium kings are also harming Burmese society. Foreign observers are saying that the activities of the antigovernment groups within Burma run counter to the people's interests. Our observer is of the opinion that these groups have no other prospect but failure.

HANOI: SOKOLOV CONGRATULATES SRV'S LE DUC ANH

BK031456 Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese 1430 GMT 3 Mar 87

[Text] On the occasion of the appointment of Senior General Le Duc Anh, member of the CPV Central Committee Political Bureau, as defense minister of our country, Marshal of the Soviet Union Sokolov, alternate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and Soviet defense minister, sent a congratulatory message. The text of the message is follows:

Respected and beloved Comrade Le Duc Anh, I would like to convey to you my most sincere greetings on the occasion of your appointment to the noble position of the SRV defense minister. I wish you plenty of good health, much good luck, and many great achievements in your activities, repleat with heavy responsibilities, to consolidate your country's defense capability.

Please accept my profound and respectful salutations.

PZPR'S GLOWCZYK ON SUPPORT FOR PLENUM, OPENNESS

PM251056 Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian 25 Feb 87 p 14

[Interview with Jan Glowczyk, member of the Politburo and secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, by special correspondent Leonid Pochivalov in Warsaw: "'Openness in Society Is a Good Thing'" -- date of interview not stated]

[Text] Pochivalov: Please tell me, Comrade Secretary of the Central Committee, how are the changes taking place in the USSR being received in Poland?

Glowczyk: First of all, I would like to talk about the CPSU Central Committee January Plenum. It made a tremendous impression in Poland. Its materials were fully published by our mass media. They are being commented on widely and meet with understanding and support throughout society. It is clear from the plenum's work that the restructuring is no mere idea, it is being put into practice as a real social process in the USST. It is releasing the titanic revolutionary forces of socialism, forces capable of meeting the greatest challenges of the present day. The fact that the plenum took place in the year of the 70th anniversary of great October Revolutin is of symbolic significance. I could say -- and this is not merely my opinion -- that we have never felt sucdh a similarity in our respective arguments with regard to society as we do now. All Polish people always have watched with particular attentiveness what happens beyond our eastern border in the USSR. Of course, by no means everything is the same: The countries are of different sizes, different potential, their traditions, customs, and economic situations are not identical. But we find the events taking place in your country in recent years particularly attractive. Even those who are not among your friends, and there are such people in Poland, see and understand their profound importance. The scope of the changes in politics, the economy, culture, and international activity is impressive. At first our people's attention was concentrated mainly on the new perspective in your international policy. Now, alongside this question, there is increased interest in the entire restructuring process.

Pochivalov: What do the Poles find most attractive in our activity in the international arena?

Glowczyk: Militancy. Your party is oriented toward tackling the main problem of today -- the elimination of the danger of nuclear war. In our country, many people associate this policy with the name of Comrade Gorbachev. Our reports, addressed to the broad masses, on the peace initiatives put forward by the USSR have been relatively extensive. But we have not concealed other viewpoints from the Poles, that is, we have also informed them about President Reagan's arguments. Thus the Poles themselves were able to weigh each side's arguments. In all the studies of public opinion concerning international problems we have obtained an almost unanimous opinion: The vast majority came out in support of the Soviet position. Reagan's arguments appeared convincing to only 2 percent of those polled: And the poll was carried out in the most diverse strata of society.

Pochivalov: A recent issue of TRYBUNA LUDU published a remark by a Catholic parish priest who stated that every honest person should support the USSR's peace initiatives.

Glowczyk: That remark was not fortuitous; it testifies to the comparativce unity of views on this problem on our society's different horizons. [paragraph continues]

Poles are attracted by the clarity of M.S. Gorbachev's positions, the directness of his arguments, and the lack of any political wiles, evasions, or reticence, and by the dignity of his positions and his ability to convincingly present his arguments to the masses. In the global dialogue on methods to prevent war, we are on your side. The Poles know only too well what war is like, but we also have a growing interest in questions of the new domestic policy in the USSR.

Pochivalov: I have been told in Warsaw that recently there has been an unprecedented increase in Polish demand for the Soviet press.

Glowczyk: Undoubtedly. And we are encouraging reprints from the Soviet press. Our journalists cannot always interpret for themselves the great changes taking place in your country. There is another aspect too: It is important for us to know how the Soviet newspapers are writing about their most acute problems. We feel more confident when we are acting in certain specific directions alongside you. Now there are far more of these common directions than ever before. Cooperation and comradeship in this matter are very important to us. Both in the USSR and in Poland by no means everything goes as smoothly as one would like, and all our achievements are won at the cost of a tough struggle.

Pochivalov: Even in our country we sense some resistance on the part of certain people, even certain circles, to the party's new course. It does not suit everyone. Some people would like to live in the old way, would like nothing to change: That makes things easier for them.

Glowczyk: I think sometimes we do not even realize what a tremendous change it is to enter an important new period of socialism. Here we find the dialectics of the struggle between the new and old. A Polish philosopher said: "What is routine? It is the tendency to repeat actions that have occurred before." Since we are talking about the press, it must be said that routine is especially dangerous for the mass media. In technology, there is the concept of obsolescence: A machine is still physically capable of functioning, but compared with other machines it is obsolete. If you liken the mass media to a piece of machinery, here obsolescence takes place instantaneously. After all, we have opponents who also are improving the techniques of influence and seeking new forms of work. Second, there is a paradox: The more rapidly new forms of information and new methods of influence are introduced, the more rapidly they become obsolete. Society instantly becomes accustomed to them. This means that the propaganda system must itself automatically renew these forms and seek new solutions.

In this discussion I also would like to touch on another aspect -- the problem of form. For a long time we underestimated it and went against the demands of Marxist methodology on the relationship between form and content.

What is form in propaganda? It is a means of expressing an idea or argument and establishing contact with those at whom a given propaganda action is targeted. This last condition is of the utmost importance. Without such contact, all the work is for nothing. At one time, we racked our brains over how to interest young people in television news programs. Sociological polls indicated that programs like Warsaw's "The Times" or "Latest News" hardly are watched by young people. So it was decided to give one program a completely different, unusual form. The new program went on the air. Whereas formerly young people had accounted for a small percentage of the total number of viewers watching the news, soon they amounted to 60 percent. Thus the conviction that our young men and women are not interested in politics was refuted.

Pochivalov: You often refer to sociological research. I know it is widespread in Poland now. I recently visited the Center for Sociological Research and asked to be shown the figures on Soviet-Polish relations: How do the Poles see them? I was told that in Poland only 17 percent of people have a more or less constant interest in politics, yet nearly everyone answered questions concerning relations with the USSR.

Glowczyk: That is understandable. These relations are by no means a matter of indifference to the Poles.

Pochivalov: Here are some interesting figures on the evaluation of our countries' relations at the present stage: An assessment of very good was given by 10.7 percent; good by 28.0 percent; fairly good by 24.0 percent; neither good nor bad by 20.6 percent; fairly bad by 2.4 percent; very bad by 2.9; don't know by 7.5 percent.

Glowczyk: Research helps to verify the correctness of our state and political thinking and our conclusions and predictions. Moreover, we have often seen that the reaction in society to certain events often differs from what you would expect. This has cooled excessive optimism; the reality turned out to be other than we had been representing it.

Pochivalov: Are ordinary Poles willing to cooperate with sociological polls? Are they prepared to say what they really think?

Glowczyk: We have no problems with that now. The Poles are becoming more and more accustomed to "glasnost" and openness [otkrytost]. Openness in society is always a good thing, especially in a socialist society. Before talking any important political actions, we are turning to sociological polls more and more often: How might the planned action be received by the masses?

Pochivalov: What do you think about the economic transformations now taking place in the USSR? Do you see anything similar in Poland?

Glowczyk: In all the transformations that are taking place in both your country and ours, economic questions are the most important of all. Our countries have different economic mechanisms, and that means different solutions on questions of organization, management, planning, and finance. But we have the main thing in common: the general philosophy and goal. This means actively involving the masses in the process of economic intensification, which makes people not the objects, but the subjects of the process, so that what happens meets their personal, vital interests. Second, it means technical and technological restructuring. In this case I am talking about Poland. We very keenly are aware of our technological backwardness. This is a threat above all to our country's position in the world community and is also detrimental to our sense of national dignity.

Pochivalov: Economic backwardness has a serious effect on people's mentality, especially for young people. For instance, my young grandson, looking at some new thing he has been given, sometimes asks: "Is it foreign, or ours?" He is beginning to grasp that a gift is better if it is "foreign." How can you prove differently when it is often true! This constantly damages the patriotic education of the young generation.

Glowczyk: Why should we experience this problem at all? Our countries have tremendous potential, and if you look at them in their totality, you can say with confidence that the socialist community's intellectual potential is richer than in the developed capitalist countries, but this wealth does not yet yield an appropriate return.

Let us return to Polish problems. We are dissatisfied with much in our economy, but we see the weakness not so much in our economic and technical concepts as in their implementation. In this respect, we look enviously at the USSR. You have a tremendous capacity for collective action and readiness to implement the decisions adopted. These are the tangible features of society which have developed over the decades. You have far more discipline, for instance...

Pochivalov: What we are discussing appears a great deal today in the press and at meetings, also. In recent decades, as compared, for instance, with the years of the Great Patriotic War and the postwar period of recovery, discipline unfortunately has weakened markedly...

Glowczyk: I know this problem is acute for you, too. After all, our two countries have another common trait — a trait which lies not only in the social system, but in our Slavic origin...

Pochivalov: As the saying goes, the Slav is slow to get moving, but...

Glowczyk: ...does not spare himself in labor. In the vast process of restructuring, it is important to emphasize the positive features that exist both in our system and in our national traditions. There are plenty of them, are there not?

Pochivalov: Certainly enough to overcome difficulties. There is much talk of democratization in the USSR at present. It seems to me that this is particularly understandable to the Poles, since the Poles, as history suggests, have long sought democratic norms in life. They even elected their kings in the past.

Glowczyk: But sometimes, people say, they have sought anarchy too.... I think the recent difficult period taught us something. Above all, it taught us that we must take a sober look at reality and not disregard what life itself tells us. Take the team system, for example. In Poland, unlike the USSR, it is being established only slowly. You know how to concentrate efforts in the main areas and tackle things not all at once, but gradually, on the basis of the country's supreme interests. All this is very important in the process of democratization of society and in involving working people in the management of the state. That is why your current experience of democratization is so valuable for us Poles. For instance, several times in the Polish press we have raised the question of holding referendums among the population. It is important for us to know what the USSR thinks about it. The draft law on enterprises which you have published is extremely interesting. Such a law has been in existence in Poland for some years now, and we can see where its weaknesses lie. That is why your experience is so useful for us — both in theory and in practice.

Pochivalov: It seems to me that for the restructuring to succeed it is necessary, first of all, to change ourselves. These changes will not come of their own accord.

Glowczyk: That is a fundamental and very difficult question. I would add: We must cultivate patience. The restructuring must be based on well considered actions.

Pochivalov: The slogans of acceleration do not by any means imply haste. It means, first and foremost, renouncing the former habits of irresponsibility and of working on the principle of a quick and easy gain.

Glowczyk: These habits are tenacious. After the tremendous shakeup that occurred in our country as a result of the events you know about, there was talk of its being necessary to take a breather and not set about tackling urgent problems. There is no point in changing what has already been done over the years. Why start everything from scratch? It is absurd, people say, to put everything into the newspapers at once. It is dangerous to publish articles that will agitate people. Before the journalist came, it was all peace and quiet here.... That is what people sometimes say.

Pochivalov: I recently visited an oblast a long way from Moscow. The local leaders told me: Over there in Moscow, they keep shouting about "restructuring!" and "acceleration!" But here we are more cautious. We are not giving our local journalists too much freedom, because otherwise they cause so much trouble!

Glowczyk: The responsibility of the press in our time is greater than ever before. I am always telling our journalists: Don't play the part of the smartest boy in the village. Criticism must be assertive, doing good, not simply agitating people's minds. The aim is not to print a devastating article -- it is important to secure changes for the better. In 1980-1981, we were attacking not individual unfit workers, but all party cadres, and that did tremendous damage. Propaganda is a subtle instrument and must be handled with care.

We embarked valiantly enough on broad openness [otkrytost], or "glasnost," as you call it. This only strengthened our positions. Many people in Poland now have started receiving foreign television programs, including Western programs. Our propagandists have more competitors. This means we must be better than our opponents in every respect -- ideology, politics, forms of presenting the material. In this sphere, it is important to wage the same struggle for quality as you are launching so energetically in the Soviet Union. We have succeeded in some respects. Radio Free Europe is already losing the competition with Polish radio: Fewer people listen to it because our information has proved more up-to-date, more objective, and open.

However, we are still lagging behind with television. The question of emotions in propaganda is a question of considerable importance. They are never neglected -- for instance, by the church in its dealings with the masses. The authors of Western political propaganda also concern themselves with this. We are conservative, we do not do enough to seek new, emotionally effective forms.

Pochivalov: We, too, are still not moving quickly enough in this respect. But there have been quite successful attempts already. For instance, the USSR-USA television linkup. This enjoys great popularity. It seems to me that it is convincing both politically and emotionally.

Glowczyk: At a PZPR Politburo session, I was reproached because we did not show that linkup on our television channels; we have no similar linkup yet; we must see how you do it.

Pochivalov: Does this mean that we should have more linkups with each other too?

Glowczyk: We will do so willingly. I repeat, we are very pleased about what is happening in public life and the economy in the USSR new. [paragraph continues]

We like your openness, vigor, and boldness in formulating questions. Never before has there been such understanding between our parties as in the days of struggle and renewal. This inspires all of us with optimism.

IZVESTIYA ON TACTICS OF POLISH REGIME'S OPPONENTS

PM251609 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 21 Feb 87 Morning Edition p 6

[N. Yermolovich article: "Desertion -- Such Is the Path of 'Unorthodoxy' Chosen by Some Polish Youth"]

[Text] It all began with a minor incident. A certain Jaroslaw Nakielski received his military draft notification. The best this young Polish citizen could find to do was to return his papers. I am not who they think I am, the Army has nothing to do with me, and I refuse to serve, was his response. That is the gist of this quite rare, doubtless regrettable, but on the whole very insignificant event.

However, the U.S. newspaper CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR decided otherwise. It thought fit to inform the whole world about it and to present it, moreover, as a New Year scoop. The grounds? Yes, there are grounds, and they are to be found in the newspaper article itself. It transpires that the actions of Nakielski and several other young people who have acted likewise "epitomize the principles of a new, important movement." If there are the "principles of a movement" in Poland, and that movement is, moreover, "new" and "important" you can bet that it is some kind of antigovernment and, naturally, antisocialist movement. And so it proves! Poland's enemies across the Atlantic dream that they are seeing the emergence of more and more new subversive organizations in Poland.

Without them, the leaders of the Polish underground consider that things are not going well. Their efforts to revive "Solidarity" by regrouping its former leadership are failing. Deepening processes of disunity, squabbles, and arguments over tasks, tactics, and the methods of their activity are noticeable among the opponents of socialist reality in Poland. What we have is commonplace rivalry -- frequently for money and backing from the West. The result and, at the same time, the manifestation of this is the complete loss of any ability to influence the conduct of the social circles that have to be reckoned with in the country.

The gaze of the opponents of socialism often turn toward the Catholic Church, which is influential there. However, a considerable number of its priests at all levels -- despite the appearance of cassock-clad political extremists -- adopt a patriotic stance and intend to cooperate with the authorities. It must be supposed that the recent meeting in the Vatican between Wojciech Jaruzelski and Pope John Paul II will strengthen the conviction of those who support such a stance that they have made the right choice.

As for the various intellectual "committees" and "confederations," which have intensively courted workers, they have completely discredited themselves. That is why -- and for the umpteenth time! -- they are gambling on young people.

However, before continuing discussion of this, let us turn to an authoritative opinion on what the so-called Polish "opposition" is like under present conditions. Here is an extract from an interview given by Polish Internal Affairs Minister C. Kiszczak that will appear in full in the second part of "Who's Who in Poland," and which is being prepared for publication and is devoted to the events before and after the introduction of martial law on 13 December 1981:

"As a result of observations over many years," the minister says, "it is possible to draw the basic conclusion that theoretical concepts of antisocialist activity in Poland have in principle never arisen in our country and that, more importantly, they have been actively forced on us from outside. The concept of 'opposition' thus becomes a complete caricature sponsored by our opponents. Can one really describe as an opposition those people who deliberately try to destroy the economy by undermining the foundations of the country's life, who have been virtual allies of revanchist circles, who have taken whole handfuls of money for their services, and eventually...who have fled the country to secure jobs for themselves in centers of subversion? Is this really an 'opposition' in any political sense? No, it is simply an enemy political agency."

Later on the following very important thought is expressed: "However, a considerable number of people who began or still continue negative political activity, not fully aware of its nature and aims, must be seen as 'people who can be retrieved.' People who did bad for good motives have ultimately turned from their mistaken path."

The correctness of this claim was corroborated by the events which ensued from 17 through 31 December 1986. On 17 July, a law was issued giving those who had strayed the opportunity to come to their senses and to turn from their misguided path. On voluntarily surrendering themselves to the authorities and signing a declaration to cease criminal activity, no investigation of the people concerned was instigated and any investigation already underway was halted. That meant that they bore no criminal responsibility for their actions. The opportunity offered under this law remained effective until the end of last year.

What, then, were the results of this farsighted and humane act? Major General Z. Pudysz, Polish deputy internal affairs minister, has reported on this in a statement issued by PAP. The reaction to the law by political opponents varied. Nevertheless, around 1,200 people who had committed crimes against the state or public order aviled themselves of the special legal procedure available under this law, this included 225 people who were already in custody. Many cases of voluntary surrender of equipment and devices used in unlawful activity were recorded. June, August, November, and December -- months abounding in dates until now exploited by opponents for subversive ends -- passed peacefully. The streets of Polish cities have been calm for a long time now, the general stated. He draws the conclusion that "from the standpoint of political consequences, the underground's activity has for quite a long time ceased to be a serious problem, despite numerous propaganda machinations by Western radio stations and subversion centers trying to blow up the issue, that is to say, show the existence of underground structures in Poland."

In light of the above, it is clear what the American newspaper was seeking in its article and why it chose that moment for it. "...The streets of Polish cities are calm" -- is something that they could not abide across the Atlantic.

Therefore, they resorted to the young again.... Against what are their dissatisfaction and actions being directed by this experienced, skillful hand? They are being directed against what has always enjoyed special, I even would say, unquestionable authority and respect in Polish society -- against the Polish Army. A somewhat unexpected target for attack, is it not? But that is only at first glance.

During my 5 years of work in Poland I visited many military units. Not too long ago I visited the country as part of a delegation of Soviet journalists who had served at the front line, and I have many frinds among Polish servicemen. [paragraph continues]

They think that I have the right to express my own opinion. Throughout the years of socialist Poland's existence, there has been no state institution so large, cohesive, well-organized, and influential as the Polish People's Army. The Polish People's Army was born during the fierce battles against Hitlerite fascism and bonded by fraternity of arms with the Soviet Army -- a fraternity consecrated by the blood they jointly shed. It is a powerful component of the Warsaw Pact and is a school of patriotic, socialist, and international education for hundreds of thousands of young Poles, a school that in terms of efficiency of work simply has no equal in Poland. It is the force which barred the way to counterrevolution and stopped the country falling into the abyss of civil war and then sent its officers as military commisars to the most combative sections of restoration, helping the national economy recover from its chaotic collapse. Let us remember, finally, that the first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee is an Army general.

...So, here we have some youngster who has done nothing in his life for Poland and owes everything to it who refuses to defend his motherland. The motives for such behavior are not what the U.S. newspaper openly, even proudly proclaims: "The reasons for the organization concentrating its attention on military questions are bound up with the Army's role in suppressing 'Solidarity' in 1981." There you have it. The explanation is quite plan, clear and simple. And one more not unimportant fact: It is an "organization" redolent with anti-Sovietism. Its members still refuse to swear allegiance because the oath speaks about "fraternity with the Soviet Army." The circle is closed. Everything that makes the Polish Armed Forces strong, their genesis, their traditions, and present-day deeds -- all that goes completely against the grain for the enemies of People's Poland. Such is life, as people say; each to his own.

So, what do you think the small group of young deserters christened themselves? "Wolnosc i Pokoy" ("Freedom and Peace"). No more, no less. Who nowadays will listen to you if you are against peace and freedom? So they don attractive garb, even though it is not their own. As for its being an "organization," its participants are clearly indulging in wishful thinking.

This was discussed at a news conference at the Polish Armed Forces Main Political Directorate by Major General L. Wojtasik, press representative of the Polish National Defense Ministery, and Colonel J. Bielecki, representative the Polish Armed Forces General Staff. Parts of their speeches touched on this group, which is not large but very noisy. It calls itself a peace movement, but the slogans it uses are very strange. "Wolnosc i Pokoj" does not call for a struggle against the nuclear threat, the danger of war, or the stockpiling of lethal arsenals. No, its sole aim is to persuade young people to refuse to serve in the Polish Army. These young people are being orchestrated by the followers of the Social Self-Defense Committee-Workers Defense Committee and "Solidarity" and their masters in the West. It is no coincidence, after all, that one of the group's activists is Maciej Kuron, son of that not uninteresting political provocateur and firebrand, Jacet Kuron.

The "movement's" success is worse than miserable. Throughout its existence, 32 people (some of whom had already served in the Army) have returned their military documents to military commissariats. Last year there were only 12 such cases in the whole of the country. After explanatory conversations, some of the young people who had rejected the Army thought better of it. These occurrences, of course, do not disrupt the recruitment of draftees, the news conference stressed. The morale [moralniy] aspect of the problem is important.

Nor do the rumors spread by the Lodon-based emigre newspaper DZIENNIK POLSKI and later picked up during Radio Free Europe broadcasts disrupt recruitment. They claim that Polish Army soldiers are fighting alongside Soviet soldiers in Afghanistan. They allege that they are earning substantial sums there and that those who do not find it enough are going over to the dushmans. The kind of stupidity to which primitive anti-Sovietism drives people nevertheless is staggering.

... Deserters -- what a vile word. But there is no avoiding it, it has to be used in the headline.

POLISH TU CHIEF SIGNS COOPERATION ACCORD

PM021655 Moscow TRUD in Russian 24 Feb 87 p 3

[Unattributed report: "Agreement Signed"]

[Text] In the Palace of Labor on 23 February, AUCCTU Chairman S.A. Shalayev and A. Miodowicz, chairman of the All-Polish Trade Union Accord, signed an agreement on the further development and deepening of cooperation between Soviet and Polish trade unions.

The agreement defines the main directions and forms of mutual cooperation at various levels in solving urgent questions of accelerating socioeconomic development, introducing scientific and technical progress, and implementing the Comprehensive Program of Socialist Economic Integration. Important attention will be devoted to further improving cooperation between the AUCCTU and the All-Polish Trade Union Accord and between sectorial and territorial trade union organs in the spheres of social, production-economic, and educational work in light of the 27th CPSU Congress and 10th PZPR Congress decisions. The broad framework of direct human contact and all-around ties between our countries' trade unions and labor collectives will help deepen the exchange of experience of socialist building under conditions of the switch to a new system of economic management.

AUCCTU secretaries and Polish Ambassador to the USSR W. Natorf were present at the signing of the agreement.

## SLYUNKOV IN PORTUGAL 16-21 FEB ON PCP INVITATION

### Seen off at Airport

LD191511 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1200 GMT 19 Feb 87

[Text] A CPSU delegation led by Comrade Slyunkov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and including Comrade Zuyev, deputy chief of the International Department of the CPSU Central Committee, left Moscow for Lisbon today at the invitation of the Portuguese Communist Party.

At the airport, the delegation was seen off by Comrade Dolgikh, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, and senior officials of the CPSU Central Committee.

### Received at Lisbon Airport

LD191449 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1311 GMT 19 Feb 87

[Text] Lisbon, 19 Feb (TASS) -- A CPSU delegation comprising N.N. Slyunkov, (leader of the delegation), candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee; and Yu.I. Zuyev, deputy chief of the CPSU Central Committee International Department arrived in Lisbon today at the invitation of the Portuguese Communist Party. At the airport, the guests were warmly greeted by Sergio Vilarigues, member of the Political Commission and Secretariat of the Central Committee of the Portuguese Communist Party, and by other party leaders. Among those meeting them was USSR Ambassador in Portugal V.P. Vdovin. [Moscow PRAVDA in Russian on 20 February in its First Edition carries on page 4 under the headline "At the Invitation of the Portuguese Communist Party" a 150-word TASS report which adds to the referent item the following paragraph: "In a statement for journalists, N.N. Slyunkov expressed the conviction that the CPSU delegation's visit and the upcoming exchange of opinions with Portuguese Communists will contribute to the further development of fraternal relations between the two parties, as well as to mutual understanding and cooperation between the peoples of the Soviet Union and Portugal."]

### Addresses PCP-CPSU Amity Rally

PM270825 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 22 Feb 87 First Edition p 4

[Report by unnamed PRAVDA and TASS own correspondents: "Fraternal Solidarity. CPSU-PCP Friendship Rally"]

[Text] Lisbon, 21 Feb -- The rally held in the capital's Sports Pavilion was a vivid and stirring manifestation of fraternal solidarity between the CPSU and the Portuguese Communist Party [PCP]. [paragraph continues]

The delegation of Soviet Communists headed by N.N. Slyunkov, candidate member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and members of the PCP leadership headed by PCP Secretary General Alvaro Cunhal were greeted with tumultuous ovations and chants of "Long Live Proletarian Internationalism!" and "Long Live PCP-CPSU Friendship!" by the thousands of participants in the rally.

To tumultuous applause from the 10,000 or so people at the meeting, N.N. Slyunkov conveyed fraternal greetings to the Portuguese Communists and expressed cordial gratitude for the touching welcome.

He went on to say: Our party, which was charged by the great Lenin with cherishing loyalty to proletarian internationalism as if it were the apple of its eye, highly values the Portuguese Communists' consistent solidarity with the CPSU and the Soviet Union.

Today's rally is a convincing display of this solidarity.

The talks with Comrade Alvaro Cunhal and other PCP leaders were fruitful and helped us to acquire greater knowledge of your country and learn about the conditions and experience of the PCP's work.

We note with satisfaction the mutual understanding of the questions discussed, as well as the Portuguese comrades' sincere interest in our party's activity and in the Soviet Union's foreign and domestic policy.

Allow me, comrades, to describe briefly the main features of today's life in the Land of the Soviets and of the work being done by Soviet Communists.

Many of you know that the CPSU Central Committee held a plenum at the end of January that discussed the question of restructuring and the party's cadres policy. The country's Communists and working people and our friends abroad hold a very high opinion of this plenum.

The 27th CPSU Congress laid down the strategic course and the basic line of our work to accelerate Soviet society's socioeconomic development and its advance to a qualitatively new stage.

But any course, any policy can be implemented in society only through practical decisions in all spheres of life, which, in turn, require critical analysis of the path that has been traveled and the definition of specific ways, forms, and methods of restructuring.

The importance of the CPSU Central Committee January Plenum lies in the fact that it translated the 27th congress' line into the language of practical deeds in all spheres and put forward proposals that will make it possible to activate all our society's social and intellectual potential.

What are we talking about, comrades?

Our country has scored truly enormous successes during the years of Soviet power. For the first time in world history, the working person and his interests were placed at the center of state policy.

Under the party's leadership, Soviet people have created a mighty economy and this, in turn, has ensured the steady growth of the people's prosperity.

The achievements of Soviet science, culture, and art are known universally.

It was Soviet people who blazed the trail into space.

These and other achievements by the Soviet people have been inscribed in golden letters in the history of world civilization.

At the same time, the pace of our development slowed down in recent years. Difficulties and unsolved problems, together with phenomena alien to socialism accumulated in the economy and in the social and spiritual spheres.

The main cause of this situation -- and this was frankly said at the January plenum -- was the fact that the party and state leadership was unable to promptly and fully evaluate the danger posed by the accumulation of negative trends and to realize the need to take firm measures to overcome them.

The party did not only speak honestly and courageously about the serious problems and difficulties which emerged in our society, but also mapped out the ways, avenues, forms, and methods of restructuring and headed the struggle for restructuring.

The January plenum's decisions constitute a program for the CPSU's activity for many years, a program for the fullest possible revelation of the socialist system's creative potential in the interests of everyone.

More rather than less socialism, more rather than less democracy, not away from socialist morality but for socialist morality -- this is the essence of restructuring.

Our party believes -- and this was emphasized yet again at the CPSU Central Committee January Plenum -- that the acceleration of the country's socioeconomic development is possible only through the activation of the human factor in every possible way and the further democratization of society. This is the essence of the 27th CPSU Congress line of deepening people's self-management.

You, comrades, obviously are aware that this process is now underway in our country. All spheres of our life are undergoing democratization. Publicity, criticism, and self-criticism are expanding. Working people's participation in the affairs of society and in management is growing.

We attach paramount importance to the development of democracy in production. The tasks of making efficient use of all forms of production democracy will be solved in the Law on State Enterprises, whose draft has been submitted for nationwide discussion.

We plan to improve the electoral system. Intraparty democracy is expanding. The democratic nature of the soviets is deepening through increased participation by the masses in the elaboration of decisions and the monitoring of their execution.

Much is being done to boost the activeness of trade unions, the Komsomol, women's, and other mass public organizations.

New legislative acts are being elaborated which will enshrine the new forms of socialist democracy.

Of course, the steps taken by our party in the direction of restructuring do not mean the demolition of the political system existing in our country. On the contrary, their purpose is to strengthen this system to enable it to reflect most fully the essence of people's power.

In developing along the entire front, restructuring is acquiring new qualitative features and is exerting a growing influence on the situation in the country. Remarkable changes are taking place in Soviet society's life; positive developments are gathering strength.

Last year produced the highest growth of national income in 9 years -- more than 4 percent against an average annual growth of 3.6 percent during the 11th 5-Year Plan. The pace of industrial output growth was the fastest yet in the eighties. Labor productivity rose above the planned level.

The gross grain harvest increased by almost 30 million metric tons or 17 percent compared to the average annual volume of grain production during the last 5-year plan.

Soviet people rightfully feel proud of their social gains. Free medical care, free education, minimal payments for housing, municipal services, and public transport, extensive social security -- these have become inalienable features of our socialist way of life.

The 27th CPSU Congress set the task of raising the people's prosperity to a qualitatively new level and of ensuring a level and structure of the consumption of material, social, and cultural assets that accord most fully with the goal of shaping a harmoniously developed and spiritually rich personality.

Last year's results showed that the social program elaborated by the congress is being implemented successfuly. Housing construction is progressing faster -- more than 10 million Soviet people have acquired well-appointed new apartments. More projects than ever before are under construction for health care, culture, and national education purposes.

But we are not inclined to flatter ourselves on these results. Our most important work lies in the future.

The deep restructuring in Soviet society is not progressing without difficulties, both objective and subjective. We make no secret of this. We have to overcome the force of inertia and the inability and sometimes even unwillingness of some people to work in the new fashion.

But the course we have taken is correct, the Soviet people ardently support it, and nothing can halt our onward movement.

We are convinced that we will attain the goals set by the strategic course of our party's 27th congress. This will be our common success in the historic dispute between the two systems of capitalism and socialism.

The positive changes in Soviet society arouse keen interest abroad. Friends wholeheartedly support our course of accelerating the country's socioeconomic development.

But the class enemy, aware of the scale and feasibility of the CPSU's plans and designs, is doing everything to hinder our work, foists the arms race and confrontation on us, and thus tries to divert our energies from creative work.

Some people in the West circulate a story that the process of democratization taking place in our country apparently is either the result of outside pressure or a manifestation of our desire to please someone.

No, comrades, it is an organic expression of the internal demands of the further development and improvement of socialism, it is a result of our independent choice and new thinking.

But we do understand that the process of restructuring occurring in our country also furthers the restructuring of international relations and the shaping of an atmosphere of trust.

Having seen how and in what direction we are conducting our domestic affairs and the peaceful and creative orientation of our plans, public circles holding various ideological beliefs increasingly are becoming aware of the untenability of the myth about a "Soviet military threat" and about our country being some kind of a "closed society."

To ensure an opportunity for the Soviet people to work in conditions of lasting peace and freedom -- this is the paramount program task of our foreign policy, and its solution under present conditions primarily means haltaing material preparations for a nuclear war.

Today, as the 27th CPSU Congress emphasized, mankind is faced with a choice -- either defeat war and survive, or perish in the fire of a thermonuclear conflict. The recognition of this alternative demands new political thinking and the rejection of the views held in the prenuclear age.

By means of specific actions in the world arena, our party and state have been able to impart dynamism to international relations.

Enormous importance in this context attaches to the well-known initiatives put forward 15 January last year in the statement by M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

The all-embracing and specific program they outline for eliminating nuclear weapons from the face of the earth by the start of the third millennium contains a package of logically linked proposals for the reduction and subsequent complete elimination of nuclear weapons.

Our prolonged unilateral moratorium on underground nuclear explosions was evidence of the Soviet Union's desire to place a reliable barrier in the way of the nuclear arms race.

Despite the United States' refusal to follow the Soviet example, we observed the moratorium beginning 6 August 1985.

We deeply regret that the U.S. Administration, unwilling to heed the demands of the peoples of all countries in the world to terminate nuclear tests, conducted new explosions in Nevada a few days ago.

Under these circumstances, just as the Soviet leadrship warned, our country deems itself free of any pledges to observe the moratorium. We can no longer waive the security of our country and our allies.

We do, however, declare: If the United States terminates nuclear explosions, the Soviet Union will resume the moratorium.

The Soviet-U.S. Reykjavik summit, held on the USSR's initiative, was a major international event. It was yet another touchstone for the policies of the two nuclear powers.

Ordinary people, public figures, and statesmen in many countries saw clearly that the Soviet Union submitted for examination bold and radical plans for the balanced reduction of nuclear potentials, and then their elimination within the shortest possible historical timespan.

But the U.S. Administration's desire for military superiority and the militarization of space -- and this was clearly shown yet again by the meeting in Reykjavik -- became the main obstacle to concluding accords.

Much in questions of war and peace depends on the state of Soviet-U.S. relations. But we do not look at the world just from this viewpoint.

Our course is one of dialogue and cooperation with all countries in all spheres.

A large role has to be played here by Europe. Europeans have already accumulated considerable experience of cooperation on the basis of complete equality and mutual advantage and security. A reliable foundation for it could be provided by the liberation of the European continent from nuclear weapons.

Let me recall that last summer the socialist countries put forward in Budapest a broad and specific program for the reduction of armed forces and conventional arms throughout Europe, from the Atlantic to the Urals.

So far we have heard from the NATO countries only an evasive answer testifying to their intention to divert the talks.

The Soviet Union advocates the development of broad cooperation and good-neighborliness between all states.

We do not divide states into large and small ones. Each state can and must make its positive contribution to improving the international climate and developing and strengthening cooperation and good-neighborliness.

It is on these principles that the Soviet Union builds its relations with Portugal.

Comrades! For a long time now politics has no longer been a matter for diplomats and governments alone. The voice of the people is ringing out increasingly loudly in defense of a nuclear-free world and against the insane arms race.

The shoots of the new thinking taking into account the realities of the nuclear age are more and more actively making headway among the most diverse circles of the world public.

Particularly graphic evidence of this is the course and results of the international forum "For a Nuclear-Free World, for the Survival of Humanity," which was held in Moscow in mid-February.

It was attended by scientists and representatives of the artistic intelligentsia, by authoritative religious figures and former military men and generals, including some from NATO countries -- a total of more than 1,000 people from over 80 world countries, including Portugal.

Despite their different and sometimes even opposed social and ideological views, they were motivated by common feelings -- to make their contribution to saving the world from thermonuclear catastrophe, ending the arms race, and improving the international situation.

We know well that the Portuguese Communists are waging a persistent struggle to ensure that Portugal is an active advocate of peace and disarmament.

We perceive this as yet another confirmation of lofty responsibility for the fate of their country and the fate of world peace.

We are convinced that the firm ties of fraternal friendship and mutual solidarity linking the CPSU and the PCP will continue to strengthen and that both parties will assist the development of mutually advantageous cooperation between the Soviet Union and Portugal in the interests of the Soviet and Portuguese peoples, peace, and international security.

Long live the PCP!

Long live the friendship and cooperation between the Soviet and Portuguese peoples!

Long live lasting peace on our planet!

PCP Secretary General A. Cunhal, who delivered a long speech afterwards, declared: This impressive rally is evidence not only of the friendship and mutual solidarity of the two parties, but of the profound awareness by Communists and all working people in Portugal of the Soviet Union's importance to the peoples' struggle for liberation and the cause of peace and awareness of the enormous importance of the development and improvement of the Soviet society, on which the CPSU is now working actively.

We Portuguese Communists, the PCP leader went on, have sufficient reason to understand and welcome the gigantic activity to renew the Soviet Union by implementing the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress and the January plenum. A. Cunhal expressed confidence that the successful solution of the set tasks will be most important not only for the Soviet people, but for all countries and for the cause of the working people's final liberation.

On behalf of Portuguese Communists, A. Cunhal congratulated the CPSU, the Central Committee, and Comrade M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, on this revolutionary activity aimed at improving socialist society.

Energetically exposing the attempts by some bourgeois ideologists and propagandists to falsify the importance and goals of restructuring in the USSR, the speaker described it as a revolutionary process, as a result of which the Soviet Union will be able to advance resolutely along the path of building the new society. The teaching of Marxism-Leninism, he pointed out, is the opposite of stagnation, dogmatism, conservatism, inertia, and routine.

The peace policy pursued by the Soviet Union, A. Cunhal went on, is the opposite of the aggressive and militarist U.S. course. Peace-loving policy is a consequence of the very nature of the socialist system and the fundamental objectives of the new society.

The PCP secretary general sharply condemned the arms race fanned by U.S. imperialism and Washington's intention to militarize space and, at the same time, highly appraised the USSR's constructive and peace-loving proposals, and in particular the program for creating a nuclear-free world contained in M.S. Gorbachev's statement of 15 January last year regarding the unilateral Soviet moratorium on nuclear tests. The Soviet Union and the other socialist countries continue to act tirelessly in defense of peace. Many other states are also attracted by this stance. The United States, the speaker noted, is finding itself in growing isolation as a result of its insane arms race policy.

The struggle for peace is the main task of peoples from all continents, A. Cunhal stressed. The PCP will spare no efforts for the development of the movement of peace champions in Portugal and in the struggle against sacrificing the country's interests to the aggressive policy of imperialism.

Pointing out that this year will mark the 70th anniversary of Great October, the PCP leader declared: Our century will go down in history as the century of a decisive stage along the path of people's liberation from capitalism and all forms of exploitation and oppression, whose beginning was marked by the October Revolution. It marked a historic turnabout in mankind's fate -- the transition from capitalism to socialism.

A. Cunhal spoke in favor of further rallying and strengthening the international communist movement and expanding its cooperation with other anti-imperialist forces. We Portuguese Communists are proud of the fact that imperialism and reaction proved unable to divert our party from the course of its great ideals and patriotic goals, he noted.

In conclusion, the speaker dwelt in detail on the tasks of the struggle by Communists and all working people in Portugal to defend the gains of the April 1974 revolution. He sharply criticized the antiworker measures being taken by the present government to please local capital, landowners, and foreign monopolists. The PCP leader called on all patriots to unite their ranks to create a democratic alternative to the social democratic government, which does not have a majority of seats in parliament.

The rally ended with chants of "Long Live PCP-CPSU Friendship!," "Long Live the Soviet Union!," and "Long Live Proletarian Internationalism!"

## Departs for Moscow

LD211944 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1842 GMT 21 Feb 87

[Text] Lisbon, 21 Feb (TASS) -- The CPSU delegation led by N.N. Slyunkov, candidate member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, which was in Portugal at the invitation of the Communist Party of Portugal, left Lisbon for home today.

At the airport the guests were warmly seen off by Sergio Vilarigues, member of the Political Commission and secretariat of the PCP Central Committee, and other party leaders. USSR Ambassador to Portugal V.P. Vdovin was among those seeing them off.

## Met at Moscow Airport

LD221409 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1310 GMT 22 Feb 87

[From the "Novosti" newscast; announcer-read report]

[Text] The CPSU Delegation led by Comrade Slyunkov returned to Moscow from Lisbon today. It was in Portugal at the invitation of the Portuguese Communist Party. At the airport, the delegation was met by Comrade Dolgikh and other CPSU Central Committee workers.

## Joint Communique

PM241508 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 23 Feb 87 First Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Joint Communique of the CPSU and PCP Delegations"]

[Text] A CPSU delegation headed by N.N. Slyunkov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, was in Portugal on a visit 16 through 21 February, at the invitation of the Portuguese Communist Party [PCP].

The CPSU delegation held talks with a PCP delegation headed by PCP Secretary General A. Cunhal.

In the course of the talks, which took place in an atmosphere of fraternal friendship and complete mutual understanding, there was an exchange of opinions on the two parties; activity and on the situation in the USSR and Portugal, as well as on topical questions of the international situation and the international communist movement.

The CPSU delegation spoke of the work under way in the Soviet Union to implement the course put forward by the Central Committee April (1985) Plenum and profoundly substantiated and comprehensively developed by the 27th CPSU Congress, a course of socioeconomic development of the country, and the attainment on this basis of a fundamentally new condition of Soviet society.

The exceptionally great significance of the Central Committee January (1987) Plenum in the cause of the successful pursuit of this course was stressed. Its decisions constitute a program for opening up as fully as possible the creative potential of the socialist system, endowing it with the most up-to-date forms of social organization, and bringing into play the USSR's economic, social, and intellectual potential.

The CPSU delegation spoke of the Soviet Union's initiatives to strengthen peace and international security, free mankind from the threat of nuclear annihilation, end the arms race, and introduce into present-day international relations the new political thinking which accords with the realities of the nuclear age.

The PCP delegation gave a high assessment of the activity of Soviet Communists and all the USSR's working people in fulfilling the tasks set by 27th CPSU Congress, and stressed the exceptional significance of the Soviet proposals and initiatives in the disarmament sphere for reducing international tension and ensuring universal peace.

The PCP delegation spoke of the struggle of the working class and people of Portugal to defend the gains of the April Revolution and to ensure a democratic turn in the country's development. The course of restoring capitalism's positions, which is being continued and stepped up by the present government, has a destructive influence on the country's economy, exacerbates the working people's living conditions, and jeopardizes the existence of the democratic system and national independence itself. The formation of a democratic government is an urgent task of vital significance for the future of Portuguese democracy. To this end, the PCP, while assigning a decisive role to actions by the masses, is at the same time waging a struggle for cooperation and joint actions by the democratic parties, which have a majority in the republic's Assembly.

The CPSU delegation declared Soviet Communists' unchanging fraternal solidarity with the PCP's selfless struggle for the working people's interests, for the country's development along a path of democracy and social progress, and for the strengthening of world peace and international security. Soviet Communists wish the PCP new successes in its activity.

Examining the international situation, the two delegations resolutely condemned American imperialism's aggressive policy and its desire for social revanchism and world domination. Since this policy has jeopardized mankind's very existence, the delegations stressed the need to continue and step up the actions of all forces of social progress and peace with a view to securing an end to the arms race and disarmament, first and foremost nuclear disarmament, and to prevent the militarization of outer space.

The CPSU and PCP delegations noted the importance of the broad international movement for an end to the nuclear arms race, for the elimination of all types of nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction by the end of this century, and for the creation of zones free from nuclear weapons. The tremendous significance of the Soviet proposals at Reykjavik was stressed.

The CPSU and PCP delegations valued the successes achieved recently in the liberation struggle of working people and peoples in many countries and regions of the world and reaffirmed their parties' active solidarity with all peoples fighting for freedom, independence, social progress, and socialism, and against imperialist aggression, fascism, racism, and apartheid.

The two delegations stressed the socialist countries' tremendous role in world development. The consolidation and deepening of these countries' economic, social, and political achievements is a powerful stimulus to the struggle of the working people's masses and the peoples throughout the world.

The CPSU and PCP delegations noted the need to strengthen cooperation between communists parties, step up the exchange of opinions and experience, and hold joint actions. They reaffirmed that the unity of the international communist movement on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, far from denying, in fact presupposes the independence of each party and its autonomy in adopting decisions. The sides also noted that cooperation, friendship, and mutual solidarity among the powerful forces of social progress are of fundamental significance for the struggle to thwart imperialism's hegemonist plans and to ensure universal peace and mankind's development along the path of progress.

The CPSU and PCP delegations stressed the importance of raising the level of interstate relations and developing mutually advantageous cooperation between the Soviet Union and Portugal in the interests of their peoples and of the strengthening of peace and international security.

The delegations expressed satisfaction at the traditional relations of friendship, cooperation, and solidarity existing between the PCP and the CPSU, and expressed the mutual desire to continue to seek to strengthen them.

During its stay in Portugal, the CPSU delegation had a meeting with the leadership of the Lisbon and Santaren regional PCP organizations and visited the Mague enterprise, the Volta do Vale production association, and the city hall in Vila France de Xira. In Lisbon, the CPSU delegation took part in a CPSU-PCP friendship rally in the Palace of Sports. Speeches were delivered by Comrades A. Cunhal and N.N. Slyunkov.

## TASS CENSURES FRENCH MILITARY ROLE IN AFRICA

LD030936 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1135 GMT 2 Mar 87

[By TASS commentator Vladimir Korochantsev]

[Text] [No dateline as received] -- The events in Chad, where the size of France's interventionary corps is approaching 3,000 men, herald a new stage in the West's interference in Africa's affairs. In essence, it is a case of the actual seizure of a sovereign state and its transformation into a bridgehead of aggression against neighboring countries. The leading role in this extensive anti-African plot, of which Chad is one of the victims, is being played by Washington, which is noticeably influencing Paris' policy. The French journal CAHIERS DU COMMUNISME writes that France's course fits into the strategy of U.S. imperialism and consists in creating obstacles to progressive changes in Africa.

Paris is making no attempt to conceal its intention to secure at any price the inviolability of its positions on the continent. Rightwing political and military figures openly recommend that the government focus its penetration of Africa on the most important strategic points "and not be afraid of using military strategic points "and not be afraid of using military force where necessary." However, Paris has plenty of experience of blood-letting. This month, Magadascar will mark the 40th anniversary of the national uprising, during the suppression of which the French colonizers annihilated over 100,000 Malagasy inhabitants.

About 1 million people died during the colonial war in Algeria. Tunisia, Gabon, Nigeria [as received], Western Sahara, Zaire, the Central African Republic, Chad -- that is far from being the full list of bloody actions of French neocolonialism.

The French troops permanently deployed in African bases serve as a forward detachment of NATO. This impressive force is swung into action wherever a danger to the "interests" of French imperialism, of the United States and other Western allies of Paris arise. The Parisian magazine AFRIQUE-ASIE called the "rapid deployment forces" "a gendarme's truncheon." Over 40,000 paratroopers and Foreign Legion trops are kept ready for "interference overseas." Paris has gained the "right" to use the territory of a number of African countries for military purposes.

Paris also resorts to direct annexation. Thus, the island of Mayotte has been seized from the Federal Islamic Republic of the Comoro Islands, and the Iles Glorieuses, Europa, Juan de Nova and Bassas da India islands have been seized from Madagascar.

Together with the United States, France is interfering in the affairs of Angola, supporting the UNITA [National Union for Total Independence of Angola] terrorists.

Confirmation of this is Savimbi's trip to France. According to press information, the bandits' ringleaders also was received by those directly in charge of subversive activity in Africa.

Paris is actively hindering the introduction of all-embracing sanctions against the Republic of South Africa. France occupies a leading position in the list of the racists' trading partners and makes a major contribution to strengthening the apartheid war machine, particularly the development of a nuclear capability.

Paris' global course includes an attempt to perpetuate unequal relations between Africa and the Western powers, many of which, like France itself, were once colonial centers. It is no accident that France fundamentally is opposed to the efforts of developing states to achieve the establishment of a new, fair world economic order.

All these and other anti-African actions are not in accordance with statements claiming that French policy in Africa is in some respects "exemplary," and that "its purpose is developed, and not military domination." Paris' actions in that part of the world are subordinate to the "doctrine of neoglobalism," worked out by Washington for the suppression of the desire of the continent's people for freedom.

[Signed] Vladimir Korochantsev, TASS commentator.

## GROMYKO HOLDS 'FRIENDLY' TALK WITH KUWAITI ENVOY

LD022038 Moscow TASS in English 1705 GMT 2 Mar 87

[Text] Moscow March 2 TASS -- Andrey Gromyko, member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee, president of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, today received in the Kremlin 'Abd al Muhsin al-Du'ayj, the ambassador of Kuwait, at the latter's request.

The ambassador brought with him a reply from the emir of Kuwait Sheikh Jabir al-Ahmad al-Sabah to the message sent by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR to the 5th conference of heads of state and government of member countries of the Islamic Conference Organisation, held in Kuwait in January.

The conference was attended by representatives of 44 states.

On behalf of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR Andrey Gromyko expressed gratitude for the message from the emir, the chairman of the 5th Islamic conference, sent on behalf of the leaders of Moslem countries.

The ambassador spoke about the results of that conference and its decisions aimed at preserving peace and, in particular, at ending the Iran-Iraq war.

Andrey Gromyko drew the ambassador's attention to the Soviet Union's efforts to achieve a settlement of regional conflicts in the Middle East and the Persian Gulf.

Andrey Gromyko spoke highly of the present state and prospects of development of Soviet Kuwaiti relations based on the principle of equality, non-interference in each other's internal affairs and mutual advantage.

The ambassador expressed striving to deepen and expand cooperation with the Soviet Union in most diverse fields.

The conversation passed in a friendly atmosphere.

## FURTHER REPORTAGE OF SOLOVYEV VISIT TO LIBYA

### Dolgikh at Departure

PM041017 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 2 Mar 87 First Edition p 6

[TASS report: "Departure for Libya"]

[Text] At the invitation of the General Secretariat of the General People's Congress of the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriyah (SPLAJ), Yu.F. Solovyev, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of Leningrad Party Obkom, left by air for Tripoli 1 March to take part in celebrations of the 10th anniversary of the proclamation of people's power in that country.

Yu.F. Solovyev was seen off at the airport by V.I. Dolgikh, candidate member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and senior officials of the CPSU Central Committee.

Among those seeing him off was M.H. Sha'ban [name as published], secretary of the SPLAJ People's Bureau in the USSR.

## Addresses Libyan Congress

LD031316 Moscow TASS in English 1238 GMT 3 Mar 87

[Text] Tripoli March 3 TASS -- Yuriy Solovyev, an alternate member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee and first secretary of the Leningrad region party committee, has expressed the Soviet people's solidarity with the courageous struggle by the Libyan people against imperialism and for progress.

He was speaking Monday at a session of the General People's Congress of the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriyah in the town of Sabha.

The September 1 Revolution, he said, had hit hard imperialism in this part of the world. Libya's strong support for national liberation movements and its struggle against the neo-globalist policies of the United States and of its allies had arisen [as received] the hatred of its enemies which had launched a campaign of threats, blackmail and armed provocations against the sovereign Arab country.

The Soviet-Libyan relationship, Solovyev said, had made significant progress in every field over recent years.

"Our cooperation," he added, "is based on the principles of equality, respect for the sovereignty of each other, and non-interference in each other's affairs."

Solovyev said further that leader of the Libyan revolution Mu'ammar al-Qadhdhafi's visit to Moscow in 1985 and his talks with Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, during which a long-term program had been signed for developing economic, scientific, technological and commercial cooperation between the two countries, had been very important to developing their cooperation.

Speaking of the situation in the Middle East, he said the United States and Israel were sabotaging efforts to achieve a just settlement there.

"To frustrate their plans, it is essential to counter them with the common will of the Arab peoples. It is only by collective effort that it is possible to defuse the conflict situation in the Middle East," Solovyev said.

He added that the goal was served by the idea of the forming a preparatory committee with the participation of the permanent members of the U.N. Security Council for convening an international peace conference on the Middle East.

Solovyev said the security problem remained tense also in the Mediterranean through the fault of imperialists.

He recalled that the Soviet Union, seeking to make that region a zone of stable peace and cooperation, had suggested that the USSR and the United States withdraw their naval forces from the Mediterranean and an international conference be convened to examine the region's problems.

"We are gratified that these proposals have been received with understanding by the Libyan leadership," Solovyev said.

Departs Tripoli 3 Mar

LD031734 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1600 GMT 3 Mar 87

[Text] A meeting was held in the Libyan town of Sabha between Solovyev, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Leningrad Obkom, and Mu'ammar Al-Qadhdhafi, head of the Libyan Revolution. Solovyev is taking part in the events marking the 10th anniversary of the proclamation of people's power in Libya. Comrade Solovyev conveyed congratulations from the CPSU and the Soviet people to the leaders and people of the Libyan Jamahiriyah on the occasion of this anniversary.

Comrade Solovyev spoke at a session of the General People's Congress of Libya at the town of Sabha, and affirmed the Soviet Union's support for Libya's anti-imperialist course.

Comrade Solovyev left the Libyan capital for home today.

SUPREME SOVIET SENDS GREETINGS TO AL-QADHDHAFI

PM040931 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 3 Mar 87 Morning Edition p 1

[USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium greetings to Libya's Al-Qadhdhafi on 10th anniversary of the "people's power"]

[Text] To Comrade Mu'ammar al-Qadhdhafi, leader of the Libyan Revolution.

The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium congratulates the leadership and the people of the friendly Libyan Jamahiriyah on the 10th anniversary of the proclamation of people's power in Libya.

This event, which is a major landmark in the history of the Libyan people's struggle, is part of the transformations initiated by the 1969 September revolution. The achievements of the Libyan Jamahiriyah in overcoming its difficult colonial legacy and building a new life have created the basis for its further advance along the path of social progress.

The country's development in line with its independent choice encounters bitter resistance from aggressive imperialist circles striving to impose their will on liberated states. The U.S. attack on Libya last year is the concentrated expression of this policy. Repelling this imperialist attack with the support of the world's progressive forces, the Libyan people displayed fortitude and tenacity.

In the last 10 years Soviet-Libyan relations have developed considerably and been enriched with new content. [paragraph continues]

The Soviet Union intends to continue to strengthen the bonds of friendship and mutually advantageous cooperation with the Libyan Jamahiriyah in the interests of our countries' peoples, to foil imperialist intrigues, and for the good of universal peace.

We wish you personally and all Libyan people success in your struggle for peace, progress, and the strengthening of your national independence.

The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

PRAVDA INTERVIEWS EGYPTIAN FOREIGN MINISTER

PM231529 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 19 Feb 87 First Edition p 4

["Our Interview" with Egyptian Foreign Minister Ahmad 'Ismat 'Abd al-Majid by PRAVDA correspondent V. Belyakov and TASS correspondent A. Bogatyrev: "Global Problems and Regional Conflicts"]

[Text] 'Ismat 'Abd al-Majid, deputy prime minister and foreign minister of Egypt, has granted an interview to PRAVDA and TASS correspondents.

The peoples of the world, including the Egyptian people, he said, dream about the implementation of general and total disarmament. Our country supports the constructive efforts in that area by the "Delhi Six." Back in 1974 Egypt proposed turning the Near East into a zone free from nuclear weapons. It also favors the establishment of nuclear-free zones in other parts of the world, in the belief that ultimately this would contribute to the total elimination of nuclear weapons. We welcome dialogue between the USSR and the United States and the holding of Soviet-American summits, the last of which took place in Reykjavik, and we hope they will lead to an easing of international tension and cessation of the nuclear arms race.

Regional conflicts, above all the Near East and Iran-Iraq conflicts, 'I. 'Abd al-Majid went on, are having an adverse effect on the world situation. As for the conflict in the Near East, in our view the crux of it is the problem of the Palestinian people. The key to an all-embracing, just, and lasting peace in the region lies in the fulfillment of UN decisions envisaging Israel's withdrawal from all occupied Arab lands and the Palestinian people's implementation of their legitimate rights, including the right to self-determination under the leadership of the PLO -- their sole legitimate representative. We are convinced that an international peace conference attended on an equal footing by all interested sides, including the PLO, and by the five permanent members of the UN Security Council would be a suitable framework for negotiations.

As for the Iran-Iraq conflict, Egypt believes that it is necessary to cease military operations immediately and make the transition to a peaceful settlement within the framework of mutual respect for the principles of international law and the UN Charter. We welcome the willingness expressed by Iraq to end the war and the proposals it has put forward on this score. We hope that the positive stance taken up by Iraq will be adopted by Iran as well.

I want to express satisfaction with the USSR's constructive approach toward convening an international peace conference on the Near East and ending the Iran-Iraq armed conflict. Our positions on these matters are close, 'I. 'Abd al-Majid said. [paragraph continues]

By and large the Egyptian and Soviet views on many international problems are characterized by complete mutual understanding or closeness, since our countries proceed on the basis of a mutual desire to contribute to achieving peace and stability in the Near East and in the world.

Soviet-Egyptian relations go back a long way and are developing normally in the interests of the two countries, the deputy prime minister pointed out in conclusion. We welcome the progress in these relations and, proceeding from the principles of nonalignment and development of friendship and cooperation with all states on the basis of mutual respect and common interests, we will act to strengthen them further.

## ECONOMIC COMMITTEE OFFICIAL VIEWS TIES WITH IRAN

NC101330 Moscow in Persian to Iran 1100 GMT 10 Feb 87

[Announcer-read report by Vladimir Ivanenko, official in charge of the Standing Committee for Soviet-Iranian Economic Cooperation -- date and place not given]

[Text] Vladimir Ivanenko writes: In summing up last year's events, I would like to speak briefly about Soviet-Iranian economic relations.

Last year, 17 meetings took place between the two countries' various delegations, during which specific aspects of economic and technical cooperation were discussed. Mohammad Larijani, the Islamic republic's deputy foreign minister, and Gholam Reza Aqazadeh, Iran's oil minister, visted the Soviet Union. The oil minister announced, among other things, that Iran is prepared to resume oil exports to the Soviet Union in return for complete and comprehensive Soviet help in installing a number of new industrial units in Iran.

As we know, the export of Iranian gas to the Soviet Union was stopped early in 1980 following a decision by Iranian officials. According to economists' estimations, the income lost by Iran as a result of this decision could have financed the establishment of two large plants similar to the Esfahan Steel Mill and the provision of jobs for about 180,000 people.

Last year talks were also held between representatives of the Soviet foreign trade association Tyazhpromeksport and Iran's national steel company on meeting the production output foreseen for the Esfahan Steel mill, that is, an output of 1.9 million tons of iron ore annually. Discussions took place between Tekhnopromeksport and Iran's Tavanir Company on the construction of the Esfahan thermal power plant for the production and distribution of electricity.

Vladimir Ivanenko pointed out: There is no doubt that the 10th session of the Standing Committee for Soviet-Iranian Economic Cooperation held in Tehran was an important event in the history of economic relations between the two countries. It should be noted that this committee's last meeting was held in the summer of 1980. During the intervening period, many problems had naturally accumulated and it was necessary to solve them objectively.

The Soviet Union has concurred with Iran's wish for an accord between the two governments on the construction of the Khoda Afarin and Qez Qal'esi hydroelectric projects on the Aras border river on an equal partnership basis.

The Soviet Union has agreed to study Iran's specific proposals on the resumption of Iranian gas exports to the Soviet Union in exchange for complete Soviet technical installations and on assistance in the construction of industrial units and other projects. During the meeting the two delegations discussed the continuation of activities pertaining to units that can be set up through mutual cooperation such as hydroelectric plants, various water and electricity installations on border rivers, and agricultural units, as well as the tapping of oil resources south of the Caspian Sea.

The Standing Committee's session in Tehran showed that if goodwill is shown by both sides, problems of Soviet-Iranian economic cooperation can be successfully overcome on the basis of the principles of equality and respect for the interests of both countries -- principles that the Soviet Union always pursues in its economic relations with foreign countries.

## DEMCHENKO DEPLORES CONTINUING GULF WAR

PM271419 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 21 Feb 87 First Edition p 5

[Pavel Demchenko "Commentator's Column": "Time for Cease-Fire"]

[Text] Reports of heavy fighting and enormous losses on the Iran-Iraq front have become the rule lately. But the most alarming and brutal fact is that the sides are not limiting themselves to operations at the front but, after a short pause, have resumed strikes against densely populated cities deep in the rear, which often lack antiaircraft defenses.

The air raids and bombardments became particularly intense in the past 6 weeks, after the Iranian offensive against southern Iraq began. In January and February alone the Iranians and Iraqis suffered thousands of casualties, including those of women, children, and old people killed or maimed as the price of the continuation of this senseless war, now in its seventh year. Dozens of cities, including both countries' capitals, have been subjected to bombing and missile strikes. For example, the Iranians have launched nine ground-to-ground missiles against Baghdad, their artillery regularly shells Basra and has destroyed many parts of the city, and planes have carried out more raids than ever before. The Iraqi Air Force has been very active, carrying out attacks on Tehran, Qom, Esfahan, Tabriz, Hamadan, Arak, and oil ports, which, by all accounts, have suffered serious damage.

Now the telegraph has brought a report that the Iraqi leadership has decided to suspend air raids on Iranian cities for 2 weeks in the hope that the opposing side will reciprocate. This decision can only be welcomed, and it is to be hoped that the raids will never resume and that Baghdad's move will be the first on the path toward ending a war which has already gone down as one of the fiercest and bloodiest regional conflicts in 20th century history. Reason must prevail: It is time to end the totally unnecessary killing!

The United Nations, the Islamic Conference Organization, and many others have recently condemned the bombing of the cities and appealed for a halt to the fighting. Our country contantly urges that the war be ended as soon as possible and that the conflict be channeled toward political solutions. The sooner the sides come to the negotiating table, the better it will be for Iran, Iraq, and the international situation as a whole.

The warring sides have been informed of the Soviet position. By its concrete actions our government seeks a settlement of all conflicts in the world, including the normalization of the situation in the Persian Gulf, which is in the grip of conflagration.

## YELTSIN-LED DELEGATION DEPARTS FOR NICARAGUA

LD011136 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1000 GMT 1 Mar 87

[Text] A delegation of the USSR Supreme Soviet left Moscow for Managua today on a friendly official visit. It is led by Boris Yeltsin, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Moscow Gorkom. The delegation has been invited by the National Assembly of the Republic of Nicaragua.

At the airport the delegation was seen off by Comrade Yakovlev, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee; Comrade Vagris, deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium; and other officials.

### Makes Stopover in Cuba

PM041009 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 3 Mar 87 First Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Soviet Delegation in Cuba"]

[Text] Havana, 2 Mar -- A USSR Supreme Soviet delegation headed by B.N. Yeltsin, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, member of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and first secretary of Moscow CPSU Gorkom, has arrived here on its way to Managua for an official friendly visit.

The delegation was greeted at Jose Marti International Airport by Carlos Rafael Rodriguez, member of the Communist Party of Cuba (PCC) Central Committee Politburo and vice president of the republic's Councils of State and Ministers; Jorge Risquet, member of the PCC Central Committee Politburo and Secretariat; Jose Ramon Fernandez Alvarez, candidate member of the PCC Central Committee Politburo, vice president of the Council of Ministers, and the republic's education minister; Severo Aguirre del Cristo, vice president of the National Assembly of the People's Government, and other officials.

A.S. Kapto, member of the CPSU Central Committee and USSR ambassador to Cuba, was in the welcoming party.

There was a meeting between Fidel Castro, first secretary of the PCC Central Committee and president of the republic's Councils of State and Ministers, and B.N. Yeltsin.

During the conversation they discussed questions pertaining to socioeconomic development in the two countries. The USSR Supreme Soviet delegation leader gave an account of the work under way in the Soviet Union to implement the decisions of the CPSU Central Committee January (1987) Plenum. Questions relating to the foreign policy activity of the USSR and Cuba were also discussed.

Raul Castro, member of the Politburo and second secretary of the PCC Central Committee and first vice president of the republic's Councils of State and Ministers, participated in the meeting.

The USSR Supreme Soviet delegation visited the V.I. Lenin monument in the capital's park which bears the name of the leader of the world proletariat.

The delegation members toured the capital. They visited Havana's History Museum, where there was a ceremony at which B.N. Yeltsin was presented with a symbolic key to the city as a mark of the strong ties of friendship between Havana and Moscow. The delegation members were also shown round the old part of the city, which UNESCO has declared to be a part of mankind's cultural heritage.

The delegation was accompanied on the tour by J. Risquet and J.R. Fernandez Alvarez.

### Departs Havana for Managua

LD021716 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1635 GMT 2 Mar 87

[Text] Havana, 2 Mar (TASS) -- The delegation of the USSR Supreme Soviet headed by B.N. Yeltsin, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, member of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, first secretary of the Moscow Gorkom, left Havana for Managua today.

At Havana's Jose Marti international airport the delegation was seen off by Jorge Risquet, member of the Politburo and secretariat of the Communist Party of Cuba Central Committee, Jose Ramon Fernandez Alvarez, alternate member of the Communist Party of Cuba Central Committee Politburo, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and minister of education of the republic; and other officials. A.S. Kapto, member of the CPSU Central Committee, USSR ambassador to the Republic of Cuba, was among the sendoff party.

The USSR Supreme Soviet delegation was in Cuba while en route for Managua to pay an official, friendly visit at the invitation of the National Assembly of the Republic of Nicaragua.

### Arrives in Managua

LD022033 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1900 GMT 2 Mar 87

[Text] At the invitation of the National Assembly of the Republic of Nicaragua a delegation of the USSR Supreme Soviet headed by Comrade Yeltsin, has arrived in Managua on an official visit. At the Sandino International Airport the delegation was met by Carlos Nunez, member of the National Directorate of the Sandinista National Liberation Front, chairman of the National Assembly; Carlos Carrion, coordinator of the capital city's front committee; and other officials. Among those meeting them was the USSR Ambassador to Nicaragua Comrade Valjas.

### Makes Arrival Statement

LD031043 Moscow TASS in English 1037 GMT 3 Mar 87

[Text] Managua March 3 TASS -- Boris Yeltsin, alternate member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee, member of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet and first secretary of the Moscow party committee, has made a statement in the Managua airport. He is heading a delegation of the USSR Supreme Soviet which arrived here Monday for an official friendly visit at the invitation of the National Assembly of the Republic of Nicaragua.

He said, among other things, that Soviet people strongly denounced the interventionist policy pursued by the more aggressive imperialist circles with regard to Nicaragua and demanded that an end be put to their criminal policy of state terrorism. The Soviet Union is a staunch supporter of a just political settlement in Central America which should be achieved by Latin American countries themselves.

Boris Yeltsin said: "Our visit is a new step in the consolidation of the parliamentary ties of the USSR with friendly Latin American countries which have already become traditional. In the present-day conditions parliaments are playing an especially important part in the struggle for the saving of humanity from a nuclear catastrophe, for the elimination of the hotbeds of hostility and military conficts, for the building of a nuclear-free and non-violent world".

"There is no doubt that the visit will be continuation of the development of Soviet-Nicaraguan relations based on equality, mutual respect and fraternal solidarity. We are sure that a further consolidation of friendship and cooperation between our countries meets the basic interests of the people of the two countries and promotes the cause of peace".

Answering questions of journalists, Yeltsin said that in the February 28 statement of Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, another step had been made towards the lessening of world tension within the framework of the Soviet global program of the elimination of nuclear weapons by the year 2000. We hope, he pointed out, that all the peoples of the world will meet with satisfaction the new decision of the Soviet leadership.

Meets President Ortega

LD031427 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1252 GMT 3 Mar 87

[Text] Managua Mar 3 (TASS) -- A delegation of the USSR Supreme Soviet led by Boris Yeltsin, candidate member of the ...CPSU Central Committee-Politburo, member of the...USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and first secretary of the Moscow Gorkom, met on Monday with Carlos Nunez, chairman of the National Assembly of Nicaragua.

Carlos Nunez said Nicaraguan parliamentarians support the 28 February statement of Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, which reflects concern over the arms race, which is growing throughout the world and expressed the striving for preventing a nuclear war. People regard the new Soviet proposals as a real alternative to international tension and as a possibility to achieve the creation of a nuclear-free world by the year 2000.

Carlos Nunez said the Nicaraguan peoples' experience fraternal feelings for the Soviet people. Solidarity with and support for Nicaragua by the Soviet Union help the Sandinist revolution to hold out in a difficult struggle for attaining national independence and sovereignty.

The head of the USSR Supreme Soviet delegation noted that parliamentary ties between our countries are acquiring a planned character. The new meeting will serve toward further deepening parliamentary relations, and the coordination of joint actions, including foreign policy actions.

There was an exchange of views with regard to the upcoming 77th conference of the inter-parliamentary union, and on issues concerning the continued strengthening of bilateral contacts between the USSR Supreme Soviet and the National Assembly of Nicaragua,

The Soviet delegation was received by President Daniel Ortega of Nicaragua. Boris Yeltsin handed over to him a personal message of Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

Daniel Ortega expressed profound gratitude to the people and government of the USSR for the solidarity, assistance and support for the Sandinist revolution. The Nicaraguan president said that they highly appreciate the vigorous efforts being exerted by the Soviet leadership in the interests of transforming Soviet society, which are aimed at increasing its economic and cultural potential and consolidating the positions of socialism and of the revolutionary movement in general.

Ortega expressed support for the new Soviet initiative on the complete elimination of medium-range missiles in Europe. The USSR's efforts for the achievement of universal peace are also having a beneficial effect on the situation in Central America; they are helping the Nicaraguan people to stand up to their difficult struggle for sovereignty, freedom and independence.

Assessing the internal situation in Nicaragua, Ortega pointed out that the Sandinist People's Army and the Nicaraguan people have succeeded in altering the course of the war in their favor, which was instigated by U.S. imperialism. A certain trend toward an increase in labor productivity, a strengthening of labor discipline, and an increase in the duration of the working day in towns and in the countryside has taken shape. At the same time, economic difficulties are continuing to be aggravated as a result of the unceasing U.S. military, political and economic aggression, Ortega stated.

Boris Yeltsin told him about the reorganization process in the USSR. Its main essence consists in using to the full the potential of Soviet society by including in it all the forces of the people, and through broad democratization of all the spheres of life.

The meeting took place in a warm and friendly atmosphere.

The delegation laid a wreath at the mausoleum of Carlos Fonseca, the founder of the Sandinist National Liberation Front.

Further Reportage

For Cuban radio reports on the visit to Cuba and Nicaragua by a delegation led by Boris Yeltsin, alternate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Moscow City CPSU City Committee, including a reception at Havana airport and a tour of Havana, see the 3 March Latin America DAILY REPORT and subsequent issues.

LIGACHEV DISCUSSES 'POOR' VOLGA RAILWAY LINE

LD040337 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 3 Mar 87

[From the "Vremya" newscast; video report by correspondent A. Krutov]

[Excerpt] Comrade Ligachev, who is visiting Saratov Oblast, acquainted himself today with the work of the Volga Railway Line. Fluidity, precision, and the smooth running of trains is what railwaymen call "the green light" and "the velvet path." This is not something of which the Volga line can boast. Three times this year, All-Union telephone hookup programs have been conducted by the Ministry of Railways on overcoming the effects of the severe winter. Each time, this line was mentioned as one of those operating with serious interruptions.

[Begin video recording] [video shows Ligachev, seated at head of table with at least 10 other men, some in railwaymen's uniform, some taking notes] Your line heads the list of those where things are going extremely badly. It is true, I must say, that lately the list of such lines has been shortening, but your line invariably remains on it. You have to get up and get going. Yet again in the last few years we have sensed the importance of rail transportation to our country. Essentially the country's entire economy depends upon rail transportation. The question is this: Either we tune up its work, in accordance with the requirements of the party and government, so the whole economy will move forward; or rail transportation will continue to stumble along, working with interruptions, and the economy will be unable to develop in a systematic fashion within the framework of the plans laid down, with all the accompanying consequences. So I'm not exaggerating when I say to you that, as a whole, rail transportation today is the knot that must be untangled to make way for the development of the national economy of the country. The fate of the whole second year, the plan for the whole second year of the 5-Year Plan depends on you -- I am not exaggerating. [end recording]

[Krutov] Thus began a sharp and principled conversation about the causes of poor work in the administration of the line. It continued with workers and specialists at a railway station and locomotive depot.

[Begin video recording] [Ligachev] You know the line has fallen seriously behind?

[Worker] We know all about it.

[Ligachev] Then you must get it going, turn it into a normally functioning concern.

[Worker] How can we get it going when we don't have the means? [laughter in background] We don't have the means to carry out repairs.

[Ligachev] So how do you repair a locomotive?

[Worker] The plan says we must overhaul five locomotives a month, but we only overhaul two.

[Ligachev] Why is that?

[Worker] Why? We have absolutely no spares.

[Ligachev] Then the question is this: Whose fault is it? Why did the locomotive break down?

[Man off camera, next to Ligachev] Because of the operating practices.

[Ligachev] Why didn't it run as long as it should have done without breaking down? Why did it not manage to last through its planned operating life? Either because of operating practices, or because of poor quality servicing. (?We must somehow) get to the bottom of it. This must be done here, not at the center. It must be done locally.

[Worker] We take on everything locally, everything...

[Ligachev interrupting] Do you agree with that argument?

[Worker] Yes, I agree.

[Ligachev] Let's agree on this, since I can see this is a touchy question, as they say. We'll send you some comrades from the Ministry of Railways, and some from the Ministry of Heavy Machine-Building, and they can work with you for a while.

[Worker] Fine.

[Ligachev] And we'll keep an eye on you.

[Video cuts to another scene in the same building; Ligachev surrounded by large group of men]

[Ligachev] At issue here are questions not only of repair, but of operation; not only of operation, but of repair. So the question that emerges is this: What sort of operational practice is it, if the equipment is not attached to a particular depot?

[1st worker] We've been through the same thing before.

[2d worker] Yes.

[3d worker] With steam locomotives we had no attachment to a depot.

[Ligachev] So perhaps we should return to that situation?

[2d worker] Perhaps we should. It's worth considering.

[Ligachev] So not everything you had in the past was bad?

[2d worker] It's worth considering. At that time the locomotives were (?not) calling in like toys for repairs.

[Ligachev] The manager of your locomotive depot has told me that you already have 18 diesel locomotives attached to you.

[Unidentified man] And we've gained a lot by it. They're now giving good results.

[Ligachev] Well then, (?move) quickly. And we won't let you down; if you work energetically, we'll back you up. [end recording]

[Krotov] Yes, a lot of problems have accumulated. The technical base has fallen behind. There is still too much manual work. At the same time, new and progressive ways are being introduced slowly. Perhaps the greatest shortfall is in resolving social questions. The workers said that accommodation, kindergartens, and clinics were insufficient in numbers. At work the conditions had not yet been established for work to be a joy. [passage omitted]

IZVESTIYA CITES NEW CONTROL COMMITTEE CHAIR

PM031023 [Editorial Report] Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 1 March 1987 Morning Edition carries on page 2 a USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium decree datelined Moscow, Kremlin, 27 February and signed by A. Gromyko, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and T. Menteshashvili, secretary of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, announcing that Sergey Iosifovich Manyakin has been appointed chairman of the USSR People's Control Committee.

On the same page IZVESTIYA carries the following unattributed biographical sketch of Manyakin:

"Comrade S.I. Manyakin was born in 1923, is a Russian, and has been a CPSU member since 1945. He graduated from the Stavropol agricultural institute as an agronomist and arable farming specialist. He took part in the Great Patriotic War. After demobilization as the result of a wound, he was a school director. After graduating from an institute in 1948 he worked as a senior agronomist, director of a machinery and tractor station, and kolkhoz chairman. From 1957 through 1960 he was chief of the Stavropol Krayispolkom agricultural section. In 1961 he became a CPSU Central Committee inspector and in August 1961 first secretary of the Omsk CPSU Obkom.

"He is a member of the CPSU Central Committee, USSR Supreme Soviet deputy, and hero of socialist labor. He has been awarded five orders of Lenin and the order of the October Revolution, orders of the Patriotic War First and Second Class, and the Order of the Labor Red Banner and medals."

AUCCTU SECRETARIAT 'CENSURES' MINISTRY OFFICIALS

PM231555 Moscow TRUD in Russian 20 Feb 87 p 3

[Unattributed report: "In the AUCCTU Secretariat: Strict Accountability for Housing"]

[Excerpts] A session of the AUCCTU Secretariat has discussed the question of unsatisfactory work by economic and trade union organs to ensure the fulfillment of plans for the construction of housing and social and cultural projects by associations and enterprises under the USSR Minstry of Tractor and Agricultural Machine Building and the USSR Ministry of the Coal Industry. [passage omitted]

The AUCCTU Secretariat reprimanded M.S. Malinin, USSR deputy minister of tractor and agricultural machine building, for failing to ensure the fulfillment of state targets for the construction of housing and social and cultural projects and for failing to take specific measures to accelerate their construction. Bearing in mind that V.I. Bocharov, USSR deputy minister of the coal industry, has held this office for only a short time, he was seriously warned. [paragraph continues]

It was pointed out that the question of taking more severe measures against those guilty of wrecking the plans will be examined if the ministries fail to fulfill their 1987 plans for the construction of social projects.

A.P. Kashirin and M.N. Srebnoy, chairmen of trade union central committees, were severely censured for poorly organizing work to fulfill the AUCCTU Presidium resolution "On Trade Unions' Tasks in Implementing the CPSU Central Committee Resolution 'On the Main Guidelines For Accelerating the Solution of the Housing Problem in the Country'" and for failing to ensure proper public monitoring of progress in the construction of housing and other social projects, and V.A. Pashevich and N.F. Budnikov, secretaries of trade union central committees, were reprimanded.

The AUCCTU Secretariat demanded that the leaders of ministries and trade union central committees fundamentally restructure their work with a view to ensuring that the lag which has built up is eliminated, that housing and all social and cultural projects are promptly commissioned, and that construction work is of high quality. It noted statements by A.A. Yezhevskiy, USSR minister of tractor and agricultural machine building, and A.G. Korkin, USSR first deputy minister of the coal industry, that the 1987 plans for housing and consumer service construction will be completely fulfilled.

## MVD OFFICIALS ATTEND MEETING ON CHILDREN'S HOMES

PM021459 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 26 Feb 87 p 4

[Unattributed report: "Attention to Children's Homes"]

[Text] Yesterday the USSR MVD Political Directorates together with the USSR Ministry of Education, the RSFSR Ministry of Education, and the Komsomol Central Committee held a conference on problems of further improving internal affairs organs' work in sponsoring children's homes and boarding schools for orphan children and children left without parental care. The conference was addressed by Internal Service Lieutenant General V.I. Gladyshev, chief of the USSR MVD Political Directorate; F.Ye. Shtykalo, USSR deputy minister of education; A. Dragunkina, chief of the Komsomol Central Committee Student Youth Department; RSFR People's Artiste N. Gundareva, and others.

## NEW PUBLICATION PRACTICES ELICIT COMMENT

### MOSCOW NEWS on Nabokov

PM271509 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No. 8, 22 Feb 87 p 10

[Vladimir Leksin "Readers' Comments' article: "Forbidden Fruit? Publications of Vladimir Nabokov's Works"]

[Text] The mass-circulation Moscow magazines OKTYABR and MOSKVA have recently published selected poems and the novel The Luzhin Defence by Vladimir Nabokov. The author's critical study on Nikolay Gogol is soon to be published. Thus the legend of Nabokov is being replaced by a knowledge of his writings.

Critics undoubtedly have their own assessment of this Russian-born author but as powerful cultural phenomenon he is above all critics' assessment however precise with his crystal-clear, brilliant if somewhat cold Russian, his literary mask, the love of the grotesque, and ill-concealed nostalgia.

The most important question now is what will be the reaction to Nabokov of the modern Soviet reader, primarily the young reader separated from him by a great length of time (The Luzhin Defence was written more than 50 years ago), by country borders and political views? The author died a while ago and he can add nothing to what he has written, so we will be reading, as is our habit, between the lines. It would be interesting of course to see the reaction of those who are going to read Nabokov for the first time and of those who have read his works before. The number of the latter is not so small judging from some critical reviews that mention Nabokov's impact on the writing of a number of our authors.

What develops is a sort of a collison in the "reader-book" system, characteristic of the last decade. What I mean is accidental and non-accidental time gaps in the communication of the author with the reader. In the meantime the authors and delayed books are not only spoken about. Much is being written about them, too. They often become classics for the critics in the absence of a broad readership.

Sometimes this long expectation of encounter multiplies its power potential: the avalanche let loose upon the reader creates the effect of a decoupled fete. Such was the case with Mikhail Bulgakov's books. But a "belated" book that one gets with difficult in a manuscript form happens to leave the masses of readers cool because the aroma of novelty gets irrevocably lost, because the author's inventions have long been used in books of later authors which are easily available. That happened I think to Dubliners and Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man by James Joyce. Ulysses had a narrow escape. One would like to hope that will not happen to Nabokov's poetry, but there is something that makes me feel that there might not be a lasting readers' enthusiasm.

Today my shelves are crowded with books by Bely, Tsvetayeva, Akhmatova, Platonov, Bulgakov and Kafka. Instead of the unreadable typewritten From Whom the Bell Tolls, I've got a heavy luxury edition (with rather poor illustrations, too bad). But I still keep reverting to my old books I bound myself. Pasternak's Safe Conduct and Mandelshtam's The Egyptian Stamp I ripped out from KRASNAYA NIVA and KRASNAYA ZVEZDA magazines as a child, are dearer to me because they are part of my life and of my burning interest for, and gratitude to, the author, part of my search and free choice.

## Poet Ivanov Published

LD032031 Moscow TASS in English 1732 GMT 3 Mar 87

[Text] Moscow March 3 TASS -- ZNAMYA literary journal published works by talented Russian poet Georgiy Ivanov (1894-1958), who spent more than three decades in emigration. The March issue of the journal that just came off the press carries more than 50 of his verses dated from various years.

Georgiy Ivanov started publishing his poetry at the beginning of the century in Russia. His first book "Sailing for Cythera" was published in 1912.

Several other collections were brought out by various Russian publishers later. Ivanov was active in the school of poetry founded by Nikolav Gumilev. After 1923, when Georgiy Ivanov left Soviet Russia, he was described as the best Russian poet abroad. But he dreamt, however, that his poetry reaches his motherland.

And this dream came true, deputy editor-in-chief of "ZNAMYA" journal Vitaliy Gerbacheviskiy told a TASS correspondent. The publishing of Ivanov's poetry is one of the signs of vast transformation that is now taking place in all the areas of life of Soviet society, spiritual included.

Several days ago "LITERATURNAYA GAZETA" which appears in Moscow, published an interview with Ivanov's former wife, poetess Irina Odoyevtseva, who lives in Paris.

Daily on Several Authors

PM271125 [Editorial Report] Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 20 February 1987 First Edition carries on page 4 under the headline "Draw Your Own Conclusion" an article by G. Orekhanova which begins as follows:

"'Please explain: Why is there such a hullabaloo here today over the name of V. Nabokov?' -- Muscovite M. Trepleva writes. 'I have read his novel 'The Luzhin Defense' and found nothing staggering. I even felt a kind of disappointment, and I thought...'

"This is not an isolated question. The editorial office has recently many letters in which readers ask various questions about a number of publications which have appeared almost simultaneously in our journals. It is a question not only of the verse or prose of V. Nabokov but also of other writers and poets (N. Gumilev, V. Khodasevich, A. Averchenko) who have not been published previously or have been published extremely rarely. So they have been known chiefly to specialists in literature. Or to those with an interest in the literary process in the first half of this century in all its complexity and contradictoriness. Naturally, our literary criticism has said a great deal about each of the aforesaid litterateurs. So any reader, if he so wishes, can obtain information of interest to him.

"But information is one thing, and the ability to see for yourself what a particular writer is like is another. Therefore, I will touch on what is, perhaps, our readers' chief concern. I do not think there is anything wrong in the fact that names that are new to many of us are now being introduced to our readers of literature. Marina Trepleva is right: There is no reason for any 'hullabaloo' here or for a new sensation. I also believe there are no grounds for drawing any far-reaching conclusions: That with the appearance of these publications some reassessment of values is taking place, or even a reorientation toward 'new' artistic heights from which, it is said, our Soviet literary achievements are not to be reckoned. This opinion is also expressed by readers, and expressed with certain alarm.

"It is not for nothing, for example, that one letter cites Lenin's assessment of the creative work of Arkadiy Averchenko, a really talented writer but one who, as is known, not only did not accept the revolution in our country but also came out against it in his book 'A Dozen Knives in the Revolution's Back.'

"Let us remind readers that, while calling Averchenko a White Guard embittered 'almost to the point of being deranged,' V.I. Lenin points out:

KAZAKHSTAN REVOKES BROADCAST OFFICIAL'S AWARD

LD031646 Alma-Ata Domestic Service in Kazakh 1500 GMT 20 Mar 87

[Text] Kazakh SSR Supreme Soviet Presidum has resolved to agree with the submission of the Kazakh SSR State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting, the management of Kazakhtelefilm studio, party, trade union and komsomol organizations to revoke the Kazakh SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium decree 28 November 1978 awarding the honorary title of merited worker of arts of the Kazakh SRR to Akhmetov, in connection with his embezzlement of state funds and concealing personal data when he was appointed director of the studio and admitted to the party.

"'It is interesting to observe how hatred brought to boiling point has given rise to both great talent. When the author devotes his stories to a topic unknown to him, they lack artistry...

"'On the other hand, the greater part of the book is devoted to topics which Arkadiy Averchenko knows excellently and through which he was lived, thought, and felt, depicts with striking talent the impressions and sentiments of representative of the old, rich, overeating and overeaten Russia of landowners and factory owners.'

"In general, the future of the writer is quite complex and contradictory, yet we are publishing Averchenko. In considerable degree thanks to Lenin's assessment, which was made both with tongue in cheek and with irony, and even with sarcasm, and at the end of which there is also this line: 'In my view, some stories deserve to be reprinted. Talent must be encouraged.'

"Of course, the aforementioned authors also deserve critical analysis and socially accurate assessment (alas, it does always accompany the present publications). This is how we could have acted in our case."

G. Orekhanova then proceeds to cite a 1,000-word extract from a book on Russian emigres abroad by Lev Lyubimov, who emigrated from Russia in 1924 and returned 25 years later, in which he assesses the merits of writers such as Nabokov and Khodasevich. The final point which he makes in this extract is as follows: "Only writers who emigrated from Russia when they were already great masters were able to sustain (and then not always) a standard worthy of great Russian literature away from the motherland."

This is followed by a further 300-word commentary by G. Orekhanova, who concludes: "The present publications in Soviet periodicals of works by emigre writers in no way put in the shade the pride of our own Soviet literature — M. Gorkiy, V. Mayakovskiy, A. Blok, S. Yesenin, M. Sholokhov, K. Fedin, L. Leonov, A. Tvardovskiy... They only emphasize how strong our country has become today, having proclaimed a solicitous attitude to any representative of Russian culture."

## 1986 AGRICULTURAL ENTERPRISE RESULTS PUBLISHED

LD262329 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1200 GMT 26 Feb 87

[Text] The USSR Central Statistical Administration has published the basic results of economic and financial activity of agricultural enterprises in 1986. Here are some figures and facts from the report:

At the beginning of this year there were 26,300 kolkhozes and 22,900 sovkhozes. The number of workers at these farms was almost 23 million which is by 48,000 people less than in the previous year. The cost of the basic production funds in kolkhozes and sovkhozes has increased by 6 percent. This means, as our commentator explains, that they have more tractors, combine harvesters, and other machinery and also production premises — that is: the material-technical base for agricultural production has been strengthened.

How has this reflected work results? The gross production, according to preliminary data, represented approximately R160 billion — which means that it increased by 6 percent in a year, and it was by 11 percent higher than the average annual figure for the previous 5-Year Plan.

As has already been reported earlier, approximately 210 million tonnes of grain were obtained, out of which 202 billion tonnes were obtained by kolkhozes and sovkhozes — and this is by 10 percent more than the previous year and by 17 percent more than the annual average in the 11th 5-Year Plan.

More potatoes, vegetables, and sunflower were produced. However, there were considerable shortcomings in the production of such important crops as cotton and sugar beet.

Data on the livestock farming show that this area of agriculture continued to develop constantly also in 1986. The procurement of milk, meat, eggs, and wool has increased. However, there still are considerable unutilized reserves in livestock farming; it is necessary to increase the milk yields, and to stop losses of production on the way from kolkhozes and sovkhozes to processing plants.

## TASS NOTES SPACECRAFT, SATELLITE LAUNCHES 3 MAR

### Progress-28

LD031426 Moscow TASS in English 1423 GMT 3 Mar 87

[Text] Moscow, March 3 TASS -- Under the programme aimed at ensuring further functioning of the orbital scientific station, Mir, the Soviet Union launched an unmanned cargo spacecraft, Progress-28, at 14 hours 14 minutes Moscow time today.

Progress-28 was launched to deliver to the station expendable materials and various cargoes.

The Progress-28 spacecraft was put into orbit with the maximum parametres:
Maximum distance from earth surface 272 km,
Minimun distance from earth surface 191 km,
Period of revolution 88.8 minutes,
Inclination 51.6 degrees.

According to telemetric information, the on-board systems of the unmanned cargo spacecraft are functioning normally.

### Cosmos-1825

LD040800 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0745 GMT 4 Mar 87

[Text] Moscow, 4 Mar (TASS) -- Another artificial earth satellite, Cosmos-1825 was launched in the Soviet Union on 3 March 1987.

The satellite carries scientific apparatus for continuing space research.

The satellite has been placed in orbit with the following parameters: initial period of revolution, 97.7 minutes; apogee, 677 km; perigee, 649 km; orbital inclination, 82.5 degrees.

Besides scientific apparatus the satellite is carrying a radio system for the precise measurement of orbital elements and a radio telemetry system for transmitting to earth data about the work of instruments and scientific apparatus.

The apparatus aboard the satellite is working normally.

The coordinating and computing center is processing the incoming information.

## FURTHER COVERAGE OF MIR-SOYUZ ORBITAL STATION

### Moscow TV

OW030525 [Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 0015 GMT on 28 February carries its "Man, Earth, Universe" program presented by pilot-cosmonaut V.I. Sevastyanov.

The program carries a 10-minute feature on the current mission of the MIR orbital space complex with cosmonauts Yuriy Romanenko and Aleksandr Laveykin on board.

The feature begins with shots of personnel and equipment at the mission control center cutting to shots of Sevastyanov at mission control speaking to Romanenko and Laveykin in space. Laveykin says that his period of adaption is over and that he has started work at the MIR station which he compares to a good country house. Romanenko says that the space station is ready for a long stay in space and that it is a well-equipped scientific laboratory. After describing briefly some of the equipment on board and the comforts of the station, Romanenko says that the station has a big computer center with several machines and automated controls. He says that the mission program is extensive and interesting and that they "will conduct experiments associated with geophysics and astrophysics, experiments connected with the national economy medicine and biology in which man is the center of attention, and a series of very interesting technological experiments associated with semi-industrial production of some items." He adds that they will receive several more cargo spacecraft and that the second phase of the mission program aboard the MIR station provides for the arrival of a specialized module which "we are awaiting impatiently." He says "the module will carry a large quantity of very interesting scientific equipment, very interesting X-ray telescopes and equipment for identifying X-ray density [zhestkogo roengina]. It will also carry interesting experimental life-sustaining equipment which will enable us to do with bringing replaceable life sustaining elements to the station and enable us to obtain oxygen directly during the flight."

Romanenko then speaks about the good view of frozen Lake Baykal because of the full moon the night before and about seeing interesting wave formations in the ocean. Sevastyanov and Romanenko then speak about the tulip growing in the spacecraft and the control tulip being grown at mission control.

In conclusion, video shows distant shots of MIR spacecraft with extended solar batteries.

Work Continues

LD022233 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0500 GMT 2 Mar 87

[Text] The flight of the manned orbital complex MIR-Soyuz TM-2 is continuing. The crew's latest working day began at 0800. Planned for today are geophysical and technical experiments, and preventive maintenance work on the onboard systems of the station. In accordance with the program of research into the Earth's natural resources and the study of the environment, Yuriy Romanenko and Aleksandr Laveykin will carry out a few series of photographing individual regions of land and the sea. According to reports from orbit and telemetric data, all is well on board and both cosmonauts feel fine.

'HEXAPOD' DESIGNED FOR TRANSPORTATION ON MARS

LD021839 Moscow World Service in English 2231 GMT 19 Feb 87

[Text] Next we hear of an extraordinary walking rover for manned expeditions to other planets. Here's a member of our staff with the details.

Only a walking planetary rover can actually cope with the job of transporting cosmonauts across the sand dunes, steep inclines and bumps on the surface of Mars. That, at any rate, is the view of Dr Nikolay Umnov, and he's designed a fundamentally new transport facility with cross-country characteristics far superior to the conventional jeep and other off-road vehicles.

His meter-and-a-half long vehicle looks something like a weird insect. For the present its six metal legs enable it to travel only around the laboratory which is at the Machine Engineering Institute of the USSR Academy of Sciences. To demonstrate its capabilities Dr Umnov placed a stack of several bricks in its way. The hexapod, the researchers call it, confidently negotiated this obstacle. It first placed its front legs, serving also as tentacles, on the first brick and, without reducing its speed, stepped over the stack. What is more it did this without spilling any of the water in a cup that had been placed in its luggage trunk.

Dr Umnov says the hexapod still lacks the speed of (?a real sprinter). This model travels at a speed of no more than 10 centimeters a second. But they're working on a walking vehicle that will do 80 to 100 kilometers an hour, the speed of the fastest of animals, the cheetah and the ostrich. This will require not an ordinary electric motor, as has been used in the present model, but a specially designed pneumatic one. It will reproduce some of the features of animal muscles and make it possible to attain much higher speeds in the new vehicles.

A computer model has shown that six feet will give the vehicle maximum stability. Additional studies jointly with biologists have corroborated this by proving that the most stable of insects is the cockroach which likewise has six points of support. Calculations reveal that a walking vehicle has one-third more thrust in viscous and loose soil than have wheeled or caterpillar vehicles. Another advantage of the new vehicle is the fact that its body retains its same spatial attitude on uneven surfaces. This is especially important in transporting various instruments and other scientific equipment or, say, highly unstable cargo such as drilling rigs. It's also important if people are to travel comfortably in the absence of roads.

Dr Umnov's hexapod is adaptive; that is, it can identify the type of ground it is traveling on and regulate the length of its legs and its stride accordingly. But notwithstanding this, its design is very simple. No computers are needed in its controls since all the movements of the model are based on well-known laws of mechanics. Very soon the Soviet Union is to have its first commercial models of the new cotton picking and transport machines which will have metal legs instead of wheels.

## JOINT SPACEFLIGHT PROGRAM SIGNED WITH BULGARIA

AU202012 Sofia BTA in English 1835 GMT 20 Feb 87

[Text] Moscow, February 20 (BTA correspondent) -- Today, Bulgaria and the Soviet Union signed the research programme for their second joint spaceflight, scheduled to take off between April and June 1988.

During their ten-day mission, the Bulgarian and the Soviet spacemen will conduct more than 30 experiments and diverse research work in space physics, space materials, remote sensing of the earth, space biology and medicine. All devices and apparatuses which will be used in the experiments are developed by Soviet and Bulgarian experts. The bulk of them are space equipment innovations. Dozens of original Bulgarian devices are planned to be tested during the flight.

Academician Vladimir Kotelnikov, chairman of the Intercosmos Council with the USSR Academy of Sciences, told the BTA correspondent: "The joint flight we are preparing is expected to be of considerable use both for the national economy and for different branches of science. For instance, we have planned nine experiments with four new devices in space physics. In the area of space materials, five experiments will be carried out with specially designed equipment. Eleven remote sensing experiments will be conducted, along with 10 experiments in space medicine, for which five special-purpose apparatus will be developed."

Mr Aleksandr Dunayev, chairman of the Soviet space agency "Glavkosmos", said that the programme endorsed today is difficult but feasible. "If we focus all our efforts on its realization, our second joint flight will really become a qualitatively new stage both scientifically and technologically."

"Bulgaria and the Soviet Union steadily expand their cooperation in the "Intercosmos" programme," said Academician Mako Dakov, chairman of Bulgaria's National Committee for the Research and Uses of Outer Space, after the signing. "A number of leading institutes of the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, the Medical Academy, the Agricultural Academy, the Kliment Okhridski University of Sofia and some industrial enterprises are involved in the preparatory work for the joint flight. We have done everything necessary to provide favourable conditions for the implementation of the programme."

The signing of the programme was attended by the Bulgarian cosmonaut trainees, Major Aleksandur Aleksandrov and First Lieutenant Krasimir Stoyanov.

## IZVESTIYA SATELLITE RELAY TO ASHKHABAD REPORTED

PM031251 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 1 Mar 87 Morning Edition p 6

[Report by I. Kudryashov: "IZVESTIYA Printed in Ashkhabad"]

[Text] As of the 1 March issue IZVESTIYA is being printed in the capital of the Turkmen SSR, Ashkhabad. This is the 59th city, in addition to Moscow, where IZVESTIYA is printed.

The newspaper pages will be relayed from Moscow by telephotography via communications satellite.

## DEPUTY DEFENSE INDUSTRY MINISTER DEMCHENKO DIES

PM031225 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 17 Feb 87 p 4

[Unattributed obituary of Vadim Nikolayevich Demchenko, USSR deputy minister of the defense industry]

[Excerpts] Vadim Nikolayevich Demchenko, member of the CPSU since 1951 and USSR deputy minister of the defense industry, died suddenly 15 February 1987 in his 59th year. [passage omitted]

In 1958 he was promoted to party work and worked as plant party committee secretary, first secretary of the Oktyabrskiy CPSU Raykom in Omsk, first secretary of the Omsk CPSU Gorkom, and second secretary of the Omsk CPSU Obkom, and for nearly 5 years was deputy chief of a CPSU Central Committee section.

In 1985 he was appointed USSR deputy minister of the defense industry. [passage omitted]

L.N. Zaykov, Yu. D. Maslyukov, O.S. Belyakov, P.V. Finogenov, V.V. Bakhirev, S.I. Manyakin, V.I. Smyslov, N.A. Shakhov, B.M. Belousov, G.S. Brevnov, V.M. Volkov, M.A. Zakharov, I.P. Kornitskiy, V.I. Kurushin, L.S. Mochalin, V.V. Osekin, Yu. V. Anikeyev, Yu. M. Sinitsyn.

## OFFICERS CENSURED FOR SUPPRESSING CRITICISM

PM271551 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 19 Feb 87 First Edition p 2

[Unattributed report: "Called to Account For Suppression of Criticism"]

[Text] This affair dragged on for long months. It all began in October 1985, when Major Yu. Danigevich, deputy squadron commander, squadron navigator, and CPSU member, addressed a report and election party meeting in a training regiment at the Borisoglebsk V.P. Chkalov Higher Military Aviation School for Pilots and made a number of criticisms of the regiment's command and party committee. The party member submitted these criticisms in writing to the presidium of the meeting, sent a second copy to the political department, and also informed the KRASNAYA ZVEZDA editorial office of them.

Some time later Colonel P. Aleksandrenko, commander of the regiment, and Major V. Bogdanovskiy, former secretary of the party committee, having virtually debarred the newly elected party committee from examining the party member's criticisms, conducted an unobjective and plainly tendentious "investigation" into the facts named in the speech, called a regimental party meeting, and, having stressed the excessive categoricalness and the groundlessness of some of Maj Yu. Danigevich's judgments, got the meeting to adopt a decision favorable to themselves. The majority of Yu. Danigevich's criticisms were deemed unconfirmed, and his speech was evaluated as fault-finding. Such arrogant views on the part of certain party leaders prevailed over the interests of the matter, and objectivity and principledness gave way to a desire to "put in his place" a party member who had been critical.

Maj Yu. Danigevich also complained higher up. The complaints were investigated on the spot by the school's political department and then by the Moscow Military District Air Force Political Department. However, the unseemly actions of the suppressors of criticism did not receive a principled party assessment.

The checkers' chief attention continued to be focused on analyzing the motives and the sometimes inconsistent behavior of Yu. Danigevich and boiled down to exposing shortcomings in his personality. It is not surprising that in time public opinion unfavorable to Maj Yu. Danigevich formed in the regiment too.

Unfortunately, KRASNAYA ZVEZDA staffer Colonel A. Andryushkov, who had been to the regiment earlier and went back after Yu. Danigevich's latest complaint together with Lieutenant Colonel A. Simonov, representative of the Air Force VUZ Directorate, and Colonel N. Volovik, representative of the Moscow Military District Air Force Political Department, was also influenced by the atmosphere of prejudice created by the suppressors of criticism and was taken in by the arrogance of certain Moscow Military District Air Force officials. The situation was investigated in an unsatisfactory and one-sided manner. As a result, the report "Rumors and Facts" by officers A. Simonov, N. Volovik, and A. Andryushkov, which appeared in the newspaper 13 April 1986, turned out to be tendentious, accused Maj Yu. Danigevich, overemphasized the regiment's successes, and virtually defended the suppressors of criticism. The official reply to the report from the school's command and the Moscow Military District Air Force, published in the newspaper 23 July 1986, was also tendentious.

In the end of the chain of superficial and unobjective investigations and decisions on them led to a reprisal against the Communist officer: In August 1986 Maj Yu. Danigevich was demoted by one military rank and expelled from the CPSU.

It required intervention from above for the Communist officer's case to be examined objectively and competently. A careful check established that party member had been victimized for criticism and confirmed the validity of the majority of his criticisms. Yu. Danigevich's CPSU membership and military rank were reinstated.

However, only after a second intervention from the center did the party commission under the district political directorate rescind the liberal decisions, and strict party proceedings were instituted against the persons who had victimized the party member for criticism or who had connived at this. They were also punished along official lines.

The fact of the victimization of CPSU member Yu. Danigevich for criticism in the Moscow Military District was examined at the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate Bureau, which made a principled assessment of that whole unseemly and protracted affair. The leadership of the Moscow Military District Political Directorate was severely reprimanded for serious shortcomings in implementing the 27th CPSU Congress guidelines on the development of criticism and self-criticism in some of the district's political organs and party organizations and for groundless leniency toward officials guilty of victimizing a Communist in the district's Air Force for criticism. It was pointed out that the instance of victimization for criticism in the Moscow Military District Air Force was made possible as a result of unsatisfactory leadership of the party organizations of the Borisoglebsk Higher Military Aviation School for Pilots on the part of the District Air Force Political Department and an irresponsible attitude to investigating the party member's statements to higher bodies.

Major General of Aviation Yu. Vladimirov, member of the Military Council and chief of the Moscow Military District Air Force Political Department; Major General of Aviation V. Mikhaylov, deputy commander of the Moscow Military District Air Force for combat training and VUZ's; and Lieutenant Colonel V. Mishulin, former deputy commander for political affairs of the school's air training regiment, were cautioned that they do not fully match up to their official duties. [paragraph continues]

Col A. Andryushkov, deputy editor of KRASNAYA ZVEZDA's Air Force Combat Training Department, was demoted. Col P. Aleksandrenko, commander of the school's air training regiment, received a caution for not fully matching up to his official duties. Strict party proceedings were also instituted against them. Disciplinary and party punishment was meted out to Colonel A. Morozov, chief of the school; Colonel A. Konovalov, chief of the school's political department; Colonels A. Simonov and P. Khripunov, Maj V. Bogdanovskiy, and other officials who failed to display proper principledness and objectivity.

Just one conclusion can be drawn from this protracted and unsavory affair. Under the conditions of restructuring, when the party has adopted a resolute policy of developing the initiative of the masses, and Communists above all, every CPSU member and, in particular, every leader must attain a new level of understanding and perception of criticism and self-criticism. Haughtiness and arrogance, fear of publicity and of healthy, open, and truly principled relations in the party organization, the desire not to wash one's dirty linen in public and to assert one's authority by strongarm methods -- these are signs of yesterday's mentality. The quicker we rid ourselves of it, the better. For the cause.

MAJOR RECEIVES POSTHUMOUS BRAVERY AWARD

PM271151 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 22 Feb 87 First Edition p 3

["USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Decree on the Award of the Order of the Red Star to Major O.N. Plyushev" -- KRASNAYA ZVEZDA headline]

[Text] For courage and valor in discharging his military duty Major Oleg Nikolayevich Plyushev is awarded the Order of the Red Star (posthumously).

A. Gromyko, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium

T. Menteshashvili, secretary of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium

Moscow, the Kremlin, 20 February 1987.

CENTENNIAL ARTICLE ON CIVIL WAR COMMANDER GAY

PM021243 [Editorial report] Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 18 February 1987 First Edition carries on page 4 a 1,200-word article entitled "The 100th Anniversary of the Birth of G.D. Gay: The Iron Division Commander" by Colonel, Retired, G. Akopyan, doctor of historical sciences, CPSU member since 1920. The article chronicles Gay Dmitriyevitch Gay's life: He was born in 1887, did revolutionary work in Baku, joined the Bolshevik Party in 1918, and served in both the world war and civil war. He is described as "one of our outstanding commanders." He formed a Red Guard detachment and commanded the Simbirsk Iron Division and other units against various anti-Bolshevik groups -- White Guards, White Czechs, and White Poles -- throughout the civil war. In later life, as an historian, he wrote a number of military studies. Of his death the author writes: "G.D. Gay's life was tragically cut short before he was even 50 when he was at the height of his creative powers."